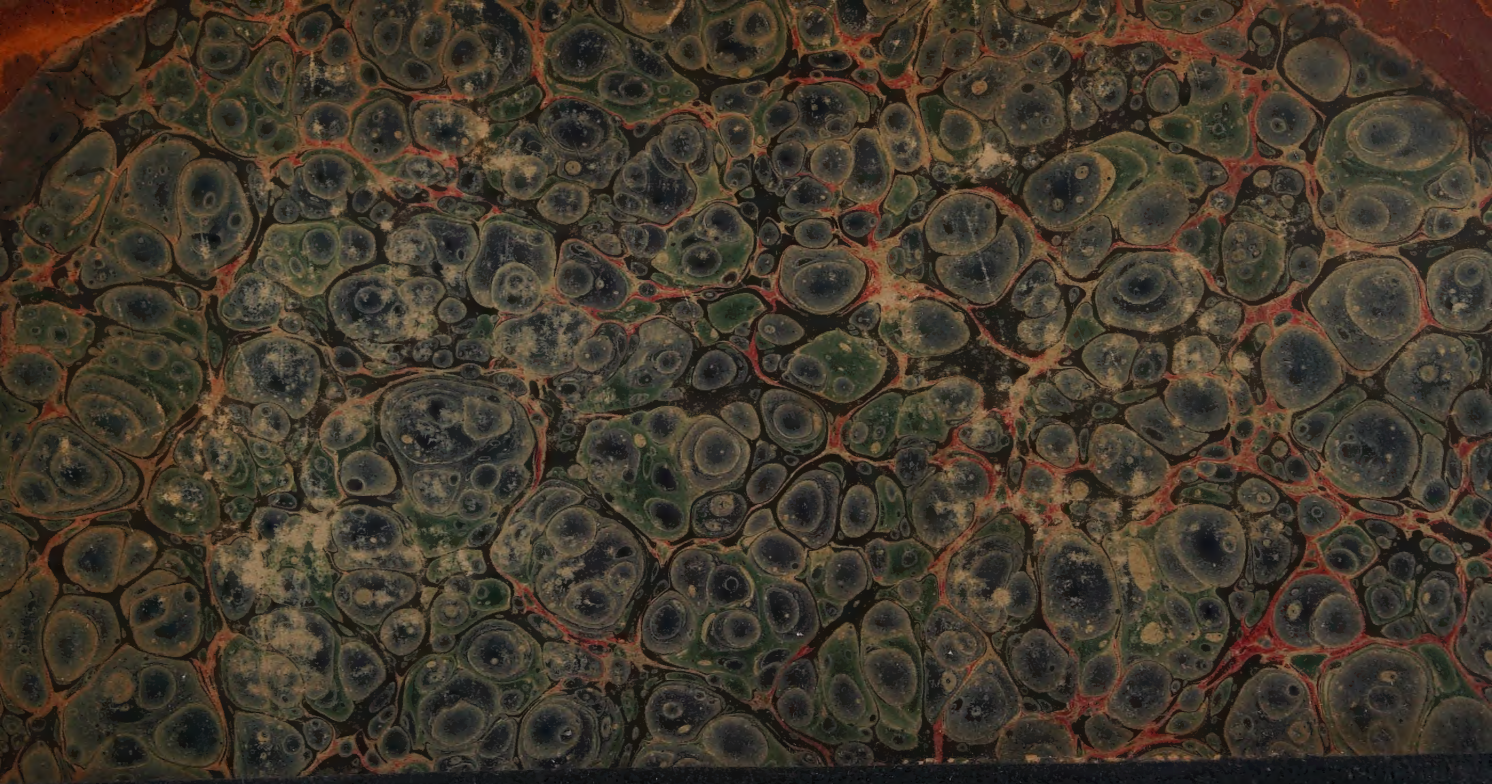

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THE

CHURCHMAN'S REMEMBRANCER:

BEING A

COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE AND VALUABLE TRACTS

IN DEFENCE OF THE

DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE

OF THE

Church of England.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

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1807.

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PREFACE.

THE Editors of the Churchman's Remembrancer, having compleated one Volume of their Work, take this opportunity of recalling the attention of the Public to the nature of the undertaking in which they are engaged.

Some time has now elapsed since they first communicated their intention of occasionally republishing such Tracts, relative to the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, as to them might appear best calculated to combat the prevailing errors of the times, and to confirm it's members in the pure and genuine principles of our venerable Reformers. In a Paper subsequently circulated it was more explicitly stated, that some few persons of the Clergy and Laity, whose habits of reading had led them to

an acquaintance with many curious and interesting Tracts of the above description, had associated, for the purpose of attempting some good by bringing them into public notice; in the persuasion that a judicious revival of this ancient literature was likely to produce a very beneficial effect, in suppressing many a false doctrine and correcting many a pernicious error.

In the course of the last century, several Collections of a similar kind appeared; among which some of the most distinguished were, Dr. Hickes's "Bibliotheca Scriptorum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ," in one vol. 8vo. 1709; "The London Cases," in 3 vols. 8vo. 1718; "Tracts on Providence and Predestination, by Plaifere and others," in one vol. 8vo. 1719; "A Preservative against Popery," in 3 vols. folio, 1738; and lastly, "The Scholar armed against the Errors of the Times," in 2 vols. 8vo. 1795. Some of these Collections are now become scarce: and there are still rich gleanings to be gathered from the field in which these our predeceſſors so successfully laboured. The Compilers of the present Work hope, therefore, to carry on their design, in such a manner as to furnish the Theological Student with an ample

supply

supply of weighty and important arguments, in vindication of the truly Apostolical Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England, which too many in these days either ignorantly depreciate, or maliciously endeavour to undermine.

The present Work differs from any preceding one of the kind, as to the *mode* of conducting it; it being judged most convenient, both for the Editors and the Purchasers, to bring out each Tract in a separate number, after the manner of a periodical work; the Editors not pledging themselves, however, to any stated times of publication, but purposing to furnish in the course of every year such a number of Tracts (whether greater or less as to size and price) as may form one handsome octavo volume.

In the selection of these Tracts, the greatest care will be taken to admit none but such as are of the soundest principles and the most irrefragable in argument: and although it can hardly be expected that, in a work of such a nature, the Editors should pledge themselves for the strict propriety of every sentiment or expression which it may contain, (especially as they conceive

ceive it to be requisite that whatever they publish should appear without mutilation,) yet they confidently trust, that the present volume will serve as a proof of their caution, that nothing but what may bear a rigid scrutiny in these respects shall come forth under their sanction. To the general utility and importance of their design, and also to the particular value of the pieces already published, several persons of high consideration in the Church, and of distinction among the Laity, have already borne testimony, by their patronage and encouragement. Thus supported, the Editors will proceed in their undertaking with increased alacrity; and having surmounted some obstacles incidental to the commencement of such a plan, they doubt not of being able to carry it on with such regularity and dispatch as will insure to the Work a continuance of the patronage by which it is already honoured, and give it a claim to still more extensive circulation.

Subscriptions for promoting this design (which will intitle the Subscribers to a copy of each Tract) will be received at Messrs. Rivingtons, in St. Paul's Church-yard, London; where a

List

List of the persons who have already subscribed may be seen, and to whom it is respectfully desired that all communications or inquiries concerning the design may be directed.

March 2, 1807.

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With additional Notes by the Author, never before published.

NUMBER II.

A Diſſertation on the XVIIth Article of the Church of England; wherein the ſentiments of the Compilers, and other contemporary Reformers, on the ſubject of the Divine Decrees, are fully deduced from their own writings. To which is ſubjoined, a ſhort Tract, aſcertaining

ing the reign and time in which the Royal Declaration before the XXXIX Articles was first published.

BY THE REV. T. WINCHESTER, D. D.
Late Rector of Appleton.

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Some time Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, and late Rector of Debden, in Suffolk.

With a Prefatory Advertisement.

REGENERATION

STATED AND EXPLAINED

ACCORDING TO

Scripture and Antiquity,

IN A

DISCOURSE

On Tit. iii. 4, 5, 6.

By DANIEL WATERLAND, D. D.

LATE CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY.

A NEW EDITION.

LONDON.

PRINTED FOR F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

1806.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

IT is presumed that the title-page will sufficiently account for the revival of this excellent discourse: for *regeneration* is a hard word, and a very serious thing; and is now bandied about, rather indecently, by too many, who *neither know what they say, nor whereof they affirm.* The decision of our church upon this subject is so explicitly set forth in the Office for the Public Baptism of Infants, that a man must have cast away the *wisdom of the serpent*, however he may retain the *innocence of the dove*—his charity must have swallowed up his common-sense—before he can persuade himself, that, even by the least-cultivated understanding, her meaning can be innocently misunderstood. Yet, strange to tell, they who arrogate to themselves the title of being her only faithful supporters, and of exclusively preaching the doctrines which in her Articles, Liturgy, and Homilies, she professes to believe, whenever they speak upon the subject, (and it is a subject which, somehow or other, they contrive to introduce into every discourse they deliver,) speak of it in terms diametrically opposite to that which she promulgates as the truth. For, whereas she assures every parent whose child her ministers have bap-

that he will not now speak in vain; but that his words, being *the words of one truly wise*, will be either *as goads*, pricking those to the heart who have, with such indefatigable industry, propagated heresies which he has long ago so completely refuted; or else be *as nails fastened by the masters of assemblies**, not to be driven from their hold even by the united effort of fanatical violence. Having therefore recovered them from the mouldering heap, in which they have been suffered to lie too long concealed and neglected, we tender them to our church, in these the days of her extreme necessity, when all the planks seem starting on which under God her security depends, in token of our unshaken fidelity to her interests, and of our resolution to maintain her cause, or, should these her enemies be permitted in judgment to prevail, *to esteem the reproach of Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt*; and impressed with these sentiments, subscribe ourselves

Her dutiful, but unworthy Sons and Servants,

The EDITORS.

* Eccl. xii. 11.

REGENERATION

STATED AND EXPLAINED

ACCORDING TO

SCRIPTURE AND ANTIQUITY.

TIT. iii. 4, 5, 6.

BUT AFTER THAT THE KINDNESS AND LOVE OF GOD OUR SAVIOUR TOWARDS MAN APPEARED, NOT BY WORKS OF RIGHTEOUSNESS, WHICH WE HAVE DONE, BUT ACCORDING TO HIS MERCY HE SAVED US, BY THE WASHING OF REGENERATION, AND RENEWING OF THE HOLY GHOST; WHICH HE SHED ON US ABUNDANTLY THROUGH JESUS CHRIST OUR SAVIOUR.

ST. Paul in these words has briefly taught us God's method of saving both Jew and Gentile, under the Christian dispensation. He did it, and does it, of free *grace*, and according to the riches of his *pure mercy*; not for or by any righteousness which *we* have done, or do, by our own *unassisted* abilities*, but by the *washing*, or laver, *of regenera-*

* Si quæras cujusmodi opera a justificatione & salute excludat apostolus, clare hic respondet ipse: A εποιησαμεν ἡμεις, pronomine ἡμεις emphatice addito: Quæ fecimus ipsi, h. e. ex pro-

tion, and renewing of the Holy Ghost; that is to say, by the sacrament of Christian *baptism*, considered in both its *parts*, "the *outward* visible *sign*," which is *water*, and "the *inward* things *signified*" and exhibited, viz. "a death unto sin, and a new birth "unto righteousness," therein wrought by the Holy Spirit of God. I interpret the text of *water-baptism*, as the *ancients* constantly did*, and as the rules of true criticism require. For, though some *moderns* have endeavoured to explain away "the *outward* part," resolving all into "the *inward* "part or thing signified," namely, the grace of the Spirit; yet with how little reason or success they

priis viribus. Deinde *operibus* hujusmodi, ex ingenio humano profectis, opponit *gratiam* illam Dei, ex mera sua misericordia in nos per Christum largiter effusam, qua *regeneramur* ac *renovamur* quaque *sola* operibus vere bonis idonei reddimur. Quodque *prioribus* ademerat, *his* concedit operibus; h. e. per hæc, non per illa, nos servatos affirmat. Cum enim dicit Paulus, servari nos δια ανακαινωσεως Πνευματος Αγιε, intelligit omnes illas virtutes ac bona opera, quæ a corde per *Spiritum Sanctum* renovato fluunt. Bull. Harmon. Apost. dissert. ii. c. xii. p. 485. edit. Lond. 1721.

* *Baptisma* enim esse in quo homo vetus moritur & novus nascitur, manifestat & probat beatus apostolus, dicens; *Servavit nos per lavacrum regenerationis.* Si autem in lavacro, id est, in *baptismo*, est regeneratio, quomodo generare filios Deo hæresis per Christum potest, &c. Cyprian. Ep. lxxiv. p. 140. edit. Benedict. item. Epist. i. p. 2.——Conf. Origen. in Matt. p. 391. ed. Huet.—Theophil. ad Autol. l. ii. c. xxv. p. 153.—Chrysostom. ad Illumin. Catech. i. p. 228. tom. ii. ed. Bened.

have attempted it, is well known to the more *judicious*, who have abundantly vindicated the ancient construction*. The latter part of the text is nearly parallel to those words of our Lord: *Except a man be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven*†, And the general doctrine both of *our Lord* and *St. Paul* in those texts is, that *water* applied outwardly to the body, together with the *grace* of the Spirit applied inwardly to the soul, *regenerates* the man‡: or, in other words, the Holy Spirit, in and by the use of water-baptism, causes the *new birth*. But it is observable, that while our Lord's words make mention only of the *new birth*, that is, of *regeneration*, the apostle here in the text distinctly speaks both of a *regeneration* and a

* See Whitby on the text.—Wolfii Cur. Crit. in loc.

† John iii. 5. That this text also was anciently understood of *water-baptism*, and ought to be so, has been abundantly proved by the best-learned moderns, viz. Hooker, b. v. n. lix. p. 225.—Maldonate in loc.—Lightfoot, tom. i. p. 571, &c.—Wall, Inf. Bapt. part. i. p. 6, 22. part ii. 165. Defence, p. 11, 24, 153, 237.—Wolfii Cur. Crit. in loc. vol. i. p. 811, &c.—Beveridge's Sermons, vol. iii. serm. xi. p. 327, &c.

‡ *Aqua* igitur exhibens forinsecus *sacramentum* gratiæ, & *Spiritus* operans intrinsecus *beneficium* gratiæ, solvens vinculum culpæ, reconcilians bonum naturæ, *regenerant* hominem in uno *Christo*, ex uno *Adamo* generatum. Augustin. Epist. ad Bonifac. xcviii. p. 264. edit. Bened.—Conf. Origen. in Johann. p. 124, 125. ed. Huet.

renovation, as two things, and both of them wrought ordinarily in one and the same *baptism*, here called *the laver of regeneration, and* of *renewing*. Indeed, the words of the *original* may be rendred, *by the laver of regeneration, and* by *the renewing*; and so some have translated, or interpreted them*. But the common rendring appears to be preferable, as best warranted by the *reading*, and by the ancient *versions*, and by the general doctrine of the New Testament in relation to *baptism*, as ordinarily carrying with it, in *adults* at least fitly prepared, both a *regeneration* and a *renovation*; which, though distinct in name and notion, (as appears from this text, and from several other texts of the New Testament, to be hereafter mentioned,) are yet nearly allied in end and use, are of one and the same original, often go together, and are perfective of each other. In discoursing farther, my design is,

I. To explain the name and notion of *regeneration*, shewing what it is, and what it contains; as also what concern it has with Christian baptism, called the *laver*, or fountain of it.

II. To consider what the *renewing* mentioned in the text means, and how it differs from, or

* Per lavacrum regenerationis, & renovationem Spiritus Sancti. So Jerom, in his Comment on the place, tom. iv. p. 435. edit. Bened. As if διὰ were understood before ἀνακαινωσεως. And so some of the critics in Pole's Synopsis.

agrees with *regeneration*; and what connexion both have either with *baptism* here, or with *salvation* hereafter.

III. To draw some proper *inferences* from the whole, for preventing mistakes in these high matters, and for our better improvement in Christian knowledge and practice.

I. I propose to treat of *regeneration*, shewing what it means, and what it contains, and what relation it bears to Christian baptism, called the *laver*, or fountain of it. *Regeneration*, passively considered, is but another word for the *new birth* of a Christian: and that new birth, in the general, means a spiritual *change* wrought upon any person by the Holy Spirit, in the use of *baptism*; whereby he is translated from his *natural* state in *Adam*, to a *spiritual* state in *Christ*. The name, or the notion, probably, was not altogether *new* in our Lord's time: for the *Jews* had been used to admit converts from Heathenism into the Jewish church, by a *baptism* of their own; and they called the admission or reception of such converts by the name of *regeneration*, or *new birth*; as it was somewhat like the bringing them into a *new world*. Such *proselytes* were considered as *dead* to their former state of darkness, and born anew to light, liberty, and privileges, among the children of *Israel*, and within the church of God. The figure was easy, natural, and affecting; and therefore

our Lord was pleased, in his conference with Nicodemus, to adopt the same kind of language, applying it to the case of admitting converts both from *Judaism* and *Paganism* into Christianity; transferring and sanctifying the rite, the figure, and the name to higher and holier, but still *similar* purposes. Such is the account given of this matter by many learned and judicious writers*. It appears extremely probable from the authorities commonly cited for it; and it is particularly favoured by those words of our Lord to Nicodemus, expressing some kind of marvel at his slowness of apprehension: *Art thou a master of Israel, and knowest not these things*†? Some doubts have been raised on this head, and some very learned persons have expressed their diffidence about it: but all things considered, there does not appear to be sufficient reason to make question of it‡. So

* Selden. de Jur. Nat. & Gent. l. ii. c. 2—4.—Elderfield of Regeneration, Hebrew and Christian.—Wall, Inf. Bapt. introd. p. 95, &c. Defence, p. 22, 26, 35, 211, 318.—Wotton, Miscellan. Disc. vol. i. p. 103, &c.—Vitringæ Observ. Sacr. l. ii. c. vi. p. 322.—Others referred to in Fabricius, Bibl. Antiq. p. 386.—Archbishop Sharpe, vol. iii. serm. xiii. p. 280.—Deylingii Observ. Sacr. part. iii. dissert. xxxiv. p. 323, 324.—Wesselii Dissert. xv. de Bapt. Proselytorum, p. 444, &c.

† John iii. 10.

‡ The very learned Wolfius several times speaks doubtfully of it, Cur. Critic. vol. i. p. 53, 815. vol. ii. p. 445. But it will

much for the *name* and *notion* of *regeneration*, and the *original* of it, together with the *occasion* of our Lord's applying it to this case. Indeed, he *improved* the notion, by the addition of the *Spirit*: and he *enlarged* the use of the rite, by ordering that *every one*, every convert to Christianity, every candidate for heaven, should be baptized*. *Every one* must be born *of water and the Spirit:* not *once* born of water, and *once* of the Spirit, so as to make *two* new births†, or to be regenerated *again* and *again*; but to be once new-born of *both*, once born of the Spirit, in or by water; while the Spirit primarily or effectively, and the water secondarily or instrumentally, concur to one and

be proper to compare Wesselius, who has appeared since, and who has professedly treated this argument, and done it in a very accurate way, recapitulating all that had been urged on both sides the question, and at length deciding in favour of what I have mentioned. The title of the book is, Johannis Wesselii Dissertationes Academicæ ad Selecta quædam Loca V. & N. Testamenti. Lugd. Bat. 1734.

* "What alterations were intended to be made by our Lord, "he himself declared: he told Nicodemus, that *except a man* "(τις, i. e. *every one*, without distinction of *sexes*,) *be born* "*again, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.* He there shews, "that baptism was instituted for *all mankind*, in opposition to "their doctrine, who taught that children of *proselytes*, born "after *proselytism*, needed not to be baptized." Wotton, Miscell. Disc. vol. i. p. 111.

† Vid. Marckii Dissertat. Syllog. ad N. Test. dissert. xxi. p. 355, 356.

the same birth, ordinarily the result of both*, in virtue of the divine appointment.

Hence it was that the ancient doctors of the church, in explaining this article, were wont to consider the *Spirit* and the *water* under the lively emblem of a *conjugal* union, as the two *parents*; and the new-born Christian as the *offspring* of both†. The Holy Spirit was understood to *impregnate*, as it were, the waters of the font, (like as he once *overshadowed* the Blessed Virgin,) in order to make them conceive and bring forth that *holy thing* formed after Christ; namely, the *new man*. Whatever aptness or justness there may or may not be in the *similitude*, (for *figures* of speech ought not to be strained to a *rigorous* exactness,)

* Neque enim Spiritus sine aqua operari potest, neque aqua sine Spiritu. Concil. Carthag. apud Cyprian. p. 330. edit. Bened.——Conf. p. 148, 149, 260.—Cyrill. Catech. iii. p. 41.

Nos pisciculi, secundum ΙΧΘΥΝ nostrum, Jesum Christum, *in aqua nascimur*, nec aliter quam in aqua permanendo salvi sumus. Tertullian. de Bapt. c. i. p. 224.—Conf. Ger. Voss. Op. tom. vi. p. 269.

† See my Christian Sacrifice Expl. append. p. 12, 13. and Sacramental Part of the Eucharist Expl. p. 6. And to the authorities there referred to may be added Theodorus Mopsuestenus, Apollinarius, and Ammonius, cited in Conderius's Greek Catena on John iii. 5. p. 89.

Some considered the *church* and the *Spirit* as the two parents, as St. Austin often does, and Leo the first, and others: but still the notion was much the same, because the church was supposed to be a parent only in and by the use of *water-baptism*.

yet one thing is certain, that the ancients took in *baptism* to their notion of *regeneration*. A learned writer has well proved at large, beyond all reasonable contradiction, that both the Greek and Latin fathers not only used that word for *baptism*, but so *appropriated* it also to baptism, as to *exclude* any other conversion, or repentance, not considered with *baptism*, from being signified by that name*; so that, according to the ancients, *regeneration*, or *new birth*, was either baptism itself, (including both *sign* and *thing*,) or a change of man's spiritual state considered as wrought by the *Spirit* in or through baptism. This new birth, this regeneration, could be but *once* in a Christian's whole life, as baptism could be but *once:* and as there could be no *second* baptism, so there could be no *second* new birth. Regeneration, with respect to the regenerating agent, means the first *admission*; and with respect to the *recipient*, it means the *first entrance* into the spiritual or Christian life: and there cannot be two *first entrances*, or two *admissions*, any more than two spiritual *lives*, or two *baptisms*. The analogy, which this

* Wall, Inf. Bapt. part. i. p. 22, 25, 28, 29, 30. Defence, p. 12, 34, 41, 277, 318, 323, 327, 329, 333, 343. Append. p. 4, 6.——Comp. Archbishop Sharpe, vol. iii. serm. xiii. p. 280, &c.—Suicer. Thesaur. tom. i. p. 243, 396, 639, 1352. tom. ii. p. 278, 549, 554.—Cangii Glossar. Græc. p. 1084.—Bingham, xi. 1, 3. p. 462.

new *spiritual* life bears to the *natural*, demonstrates the same thing*. There are, in all, *three* several *lives* belonging to every good Christian, and *three births* of course, thereto corresponding†. *Once* he is born into the *natural* life, born of *Adam*; *once* he is born into the *spiritual* life, born of *water* and the *Spirit*; and *once* also into a *life* of *glory*, born of the *resurrection* at the last day. I mention that *third* birth into a life above, because that birth also seems to have the name of *regeneration*, in the New Testament‡. But my present concern is only with the *regeneration* proper to this life, which comes but *once*, and admits not of a *second*,

* Cum ergo sint duæ nativitates——una est de terra, alia de cœlo; una est de carne, alia de Spiritu; una est de mortalitate, alia de æternitate; una est de masculo & fœmina, alia de Deo & ecclesia. Sed ipsæ duæ *singulæ* sunt; nec hæc potest *repeti*, nec illa.——Jam natus sum de *Adam*, non me potest *iterum* generare Adam: jam natus sum de *Christo*, non me potest *iterum* generare Christus. Quomodo uterus non potest repeti, sic nec baptismus. Augustin. in Johann. Tract. xi. p. 378. tom. iii. par. ii. ed. Bened.——Conf. Prosper. Sentent. cccxxxi. p. 246. apud Augustin. tom. x. in append.—Aquin. Summ. par. iii. q. lxvi. art. ix. p. 150.

† Vid. Greg. Nazianz. Orat. xl. p. 637.—Origen. in Matt. Orat. ix. f. 23. Lat. ed. p. 391. ed. Huet.—Augustin. contra Julian. l. ii. p. 540, 541.

‡ Matt. xix. 28. See commentators, and Bishop Pearson on the Creed, art. i. p. 28. and particularly Olearius in Matt. p. 540.

during this mortal state *. This *regeneration*, in the *active* sense, is what St. Peter speaks of, where he says; *God hath begotten us again unto a lively hope* †. And afterwards, in the same chapter, but in the *passive* sense; *Being born again, not of corruptible seed, but incorruptible, by the word of God* ‡: that is, by the *words* used in the *form* of *baptism*; or else by the *word* preached, conducting men to *faith* and *baptism*. These texts relating to the *new birth* speak of it as a *transient* thing, once performed, and retaining its *virtue* during the whole spiritual life. But when the phrase of *born of God* is found to denote a *permanent state* §, it is to be understood of a person who *has been* born of God, and *abides* entirely in that *sonship*, that spiritual and salutary state which he was *once* born into: so the phrase, *born of a woman*, is often used as equivalent to *son of a woman*, by a figure of

* Ουκ εστης δευτερας αναγεννησεως, ουδε αναπλασεως, κ. τ. λ. Nazianz. Orat. xl. p. 641.——Conf. Nicet. Serron. Comment. p. 1048.

Semel perceptam parvulus gratiam non amittit, nisi propria impietate, si ætatis accessu tam malus evaserit. Tunc enim etiam propria incipiet habere peccata; quæ non *regeneratione* auferantur, sed *alia* curatione sanentur. Augustin. ad Bonifac. Ep. xcviii. p. 264. tom. ii. ed. Bened.——Conf. Damascen. ad Hebr. vi. 6. Op. tom. ii. p. 237. ed. sequ.

† 1 Pet. i. 3.

‡ 1 Pet. i. 23.

§ 1 John iii. 9. iv. 7. v. 1, 4, 18.

speech *, and is easily understood. *Regeneration*, on the part of the *grantor*, God Almighty, means *admission* or *adoption* † into sonship, or spiritual citizenship: and on the part of the *grantee*, viz. man, it means his *birth*, or entrance into that state of sonship or citizenship. It is God that *adopts* or *regenerates*, like as it is God that *justifies* ‡. Man does not *adopt*, *regenerate*, or *justify* himself, whatever hand he may otherwise have (but still under *grace*) in *preparing* or *qualifying* himself for it. God makes the *grant*, and it is entirely *his act*: man *receives* only, and is acted upon; though sometimes *active* in qualifying himself, as in the case of *adults*, and sometimes entirely *passive*, as in the case of *infants*. The thing granted and received is a change from the state natural into the state spiritual; a translation from the *curse* of *Adam* into the *grace* of *Christ*. This *change*, *translation*, or *adoption* carries in it many Christian blessings and privileges, but all reducible to two, viz. *remission of sins*, (absolute or conditional,) and a *covenant-claim*, for the time being, *to eternal happiness*. Those blessings may all be forfeited, or finally lost, if a person re-

* Job xiv. 1. xv. 14. xxv. 4. Matt. xi. 11. Luke vii. 28.

† Rom. viii. 15. Gal. iv. 5. Ephes. i. 5. John i. 12. Note, that our *adoptive* sonship is opposed to our Lord's *natural* sonship, the foundation of our *adoption*.

‡ Vid. Bull. Harmon. Apost. par. ii. c. ii. p. 418.

volts from God, either for a time, or for ever; and then such person is no longer in a *regenerate* state, or a state of *sonship*, with respect to any *saving* effects: but still God's original grant of adoption or sonship in baptism stands in full force, to take place as often as any such revolter shall return, and not otherwise: and if he desires to be as before, he will not want to be *regenerated* again, but renewed, or reformed. *Regeneration complete* stands in two things, which are, as it were, its two *integral* parts; the *grant* made over to the person, and the *reception* of that grant. The grant once made *continues* always the same; but the reception may *vary*, because it depends upon the condition of the recipient *.

II. Having said what I conceived sufficient upon the first article, respecting *regeneration*, I now proceed to the second, which is *renovation*; and which I understand of a *renewal* of *heart* or *mind*. Indeed, *regeneration* is itself a kind of *renewal*; but then it is of the *spiritual state*, considered *at large*; whereas *renovation*, the other article in the text, seems to mean a more *particular* kind of *renewal*, namely, of the inward *frame* or *disposition* of the man; which is rather a *capacity*, or *qualification* (in *adults*) for *salutary* regeneration, than the regeneration itself. *Regeneration* may be

* *As many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God.* John i. 12. Rom. viii. 14, 15.

granted and received (as in *infants*) where that *renovation* has no place at all, for the time being: and therefore, most certainly, the notions are very distinct. But of this I may say more hereafter in a proper place. It may here be further noted, that *renovation* may be, and should be, with respect to adults, *before*, and *in*, and *after* baptism. *Preventing* grace must go before, to work in the man *faith* and *repentance*; which are qualifications previous to baptism, and necessary to render it *salutary*. Those first addresses, or influential visits of the Holy Spirit, turning and preparing the heart of man, are the preparative *renewings*, the first and lowest degrees of *renovation**. Afterwards, in baptism, the same Spirit fixes, as it were, his *dwelling*, or residential *abode*, renewing the heart in *greater* measure†: and if his motions are still

* *Spiramen* est modicæ virtutis aliqua gratia, in audienda lege Dei multorum *primum: Spiritus* autem perfectionis est *plenitudo: Spiramen* itaque datur ab infantia & *catechumenis: Spiritus* autem in incremento *doctrinæ fideique*, & salutaris *baptismi* plena Dei gratia, ut intelligere, & ad majorem jam possit scientiam pervenire. Philastr. contra Hær. n. cxlvii. p. 329. ed. Fabric.

† *Spiritus ubi vult spirat;* sed quod fatendum est, aliter adjuvat *nondum inhabitans*, aliter *inhabitans*: nam nondum inhabitans adjuvat *ut sint fideles*, inhabitans adjuvat *jam fideles*. Augustin. ad Xyst. Ep. cxciv. p. 720.

In quibusdam tanta est *gratia* fidei quanta non sufficit ad obtinendum regnum cœlorum; sicut in *catechumenis*, sicut in ipso *Cornelio* antequam *sacramentorum* participatione *incorporaretur* ecclesiæ: in quibusdam vero tanta est, ut jam *corpori* Christi.

more and more complied with after baptismal regeneration, the *renewing* grows and improves through the whole course of the spiritual life *. Therefore, though we find no scripture-exhortations made to *Christians* (for Nicodemus was a *Jew*) to become *regenerated*, yet we meet with several exhortations to them to be again and again *renewed*. For example; *Be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind* †. *Be renewed in the spirit of your mind* ‡. The *inward man* is said to be *renewed day by day* §. And when Christians have once fallen off, the *restoring* them again is not

& sancto Dei *templo* deputentur. Augustin. de Divers. Qu. ad Simplicium, l. i. p. 89. tom. vi. ed. Bened.

* Hæc *Spiritus donatio*, quæ *justificationem* sequitur, a *gratia* ejusdem Spiritus hominis conversionem *præveniente* & operante bifariam imprimis differt. Primo, quod animæ jam a vitiis purgatæ Spiritus divinus *arctius* atque *intimius* quam antea *unitur*, in ipsam altius penetrat, pleniusque ejus facultates omnes pervadit. Unde in Scripturis dicitur Spiritus divinus ante conversionem hominis quasi *ad cordis ostium pulsare*, post conversionem vero *interiora* domus *intrare*. Apoc. iii. 20. Deinde, quod sanctissimus ille Spiritus in anima, quam antea veluti *inviserat* tantum, & gratia sua *præveniente* in domicilium sibi *præparaverat*, jam *habitat* & quasi *sedem* suam *figit*; nunquam inde discessurus, nisi per peccatum aliquod gravius foras extrudatur. Bull. Apolog. contra Tullium, p. 15. alias p. 643.

† Rom. xii. 2.

‡ Ephes. iv. 23. or, *by the spirit of your mind*. See Bishop Bull's Posth. p. 1135, 1136.

§ 2 Cor. iv. 16.

called *regenerating* them, but *renewing them again unto repentance* *. Of this *renovation* of the heart, we may best understand the phrase of *putting on the new man* †, amounting to much the same with *having on the breast-plate of righteousness* ‡; and *putting on the armour of light* §; and *putting on bowels of mercies*, with other Christian virtues or graces ‖. Of the same import is the phrase of *putting on Christ*; plainly in one of the places **, and probably in the other also ††: though some interpret the former of *renovation*, and the latter of *regeneration* ‡‡. Lastly, the phrase of *new creature* §§ may properly be referred to *renovation* also, and is so interpreted by the ancients ‖‖ generally: or if it be referred to *regeneration*, as ordinarily including and comprehending *renovation* under it, that larger construction of it will not perhaps be amiss.

* Hebr. vi. 6.

† Ephes. iv. 24. Coloss. iii. 10.

‡ Ephes. vi. 14. 1 Thess. v. 8.

§ Rom. xiii. 12.

‖ Coloss. iii. 12.

** Rom. xiii. 14. See Whitby and Wolfius in loc.

†† Gal. iii. 27. Vid. Wolf. in loc.

‡‡ Deylingii Observ. Sacr. tom. iii. dissert. xlii. p. 406.

§§ 2 Cor. v. 17. Gal. vi. 15. See Whitby and Wolfius; and Bishop Beveridge, vol. ii. serm. vii.

‖‖ See the passages collected in Suicer, tom. ii. p. 178, 179.

The *distinction*, which I have hitherto insisted upon, between *regeneration* and *renovation*, has been carefully kept up by the Lutheran divines especially *, as of great use: and it is what our church appears to have gone upon, in her Offices of Baptism, as likewise in the Catechism. She clearly expresses it in one of her Collects, wherein we beg of God, "that we, being *regenerate* and "made his children by adoption and grace, may "daily be *renewed* by his Holy Spirit †," &c. Such is the *public* voice of our church. What the *private* sentiments of some divines have been, or how far they have overlooked, or not attended to this so necessary distinction, is not material to enquire: but that it never has been lost amongst us, may appear from the words of a very judicious divine of this present age ‡. The difference between these two may be competently understood from what has been already said; but to make it still clearer, it may be drawn out more minutely, in

* Vid. Gerhard. Loc. Comm. tom. iv. p. 495, 503, &c.—Conf. tom. iii. 713, &c.

† Collect for Christmas-day.

‡ "There is a mighty difference between *regeneration* and "*renovation*. We can be *born* but *once*, because we can *live* "but *once*; and therefore baptism, which gives life, cannot be "*repeated*: but we can recover *often*, and grow and be nourish-"ed *often*, because we can sink and droop often." Dean Stanhope, serm. viii. p. 249.—Compare Archbishop Sharpe, vol. iii. serm. xiii. p. 279.

distinct articles, as follows. 1. *Regeneration* and *renovation* differ in respect to the *effective* cause, or agency: for one is the work of the *Spirit* in the use of *water*; that is, of the Spirit *singly*, since *water* really *does* nothing, is no *agent* at all; but the other is the work of the *Spirit* and the *man* together. Man *renews* himself, at the same time that the Spirit *renews* him: and the *renovation* wrought is the result of their *joint-agency*; man concurring and operating in a *subordinate* way. *It is God that worketh in us both to will and to do* *: but still it is supposed and said, that we both *will* and *do*. It is God that *renews*, *cleanses*, and *purifies* the heart †: and man also renews, cleanses, and purifies his own heart ‡; that is, he bears his part in it, be it more or less. No man *regenerates* himself at all; that is, he has no part in the *regenerating act*, (which is intirely God's,) whatever he may have in the *receptive*: and if in this sense only it be said, that man is purely *passive* in it, it is true and sound doctrine. Nevertheless, he may and must be *active* in preparing and qualifying himself for it, and in receiving it, supposing

* Phil. ii. 13.

† Psal. xix. 12. li. 2, 10. Jer. xxiv. 7. Ezek. xi. 19. xxxvi. 26. Acts xv. 9. Tit. iii. 5. 1 John 1, 9.

‡ Psalm cxix. 9. lxxiii. 13. Isa. i. 16. Ezek. xviii. 31. 2 Cor. vii. 1. James iv. 8. 1 Pet. i. 22. 1 John iii. 3.——Conf. Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. i. p. 16, 17. ed. Bened.

him to be *adult*. He is not his own *regenerator*, or *parent*, at all, in his new birth: for that would be a *solecism* in speech, and a contradiction in notion. He is, however, his own *renewer*, though in part only, and in subordination to the *principal* agent. 2. Another difference between *regeneration* and *renovation* (before hinted) is, that *regeneration* ordinarily is in or through *baptism* only, a transient thing, which comes but once*: whereas *renovation* is before, and in, and after baptism, and may be often repeated; continuing and increasing from the first *preparations* to Christianity, through the whole progress of the Christian life. So it is in *adults:* but in *infants*, regeneration commences *before* renovation; which again shews how distinct and different they are. 3. A third observable difference is, that *regeneration* once given can never be *totally* lost, any more

* The late learned regius-professor of divinity, at Cambridge, Dr. Beaumont, in his MS Commentary on Rom. xii. 2. writes thus: Sed scrupulum hic injicies. Nonne enim apostolus commonefacit fratres suos, adeoque Christianos, per baptismum *regenitos*, adeoque & ανακαινωσιν istam adeptos? Quid opus igitur actum agere? Nil sane. Nec monet eos baptisma iterare. *Semel nascimur, renascimur semel. Unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma.* Ephes. iv. 5. Quoniam vero ipsi *renati* ex baptismali puritate non raro relabuntur ad *veteris hominis* inquinamenta, ex usu eorum est assidua per pœnitentiam *renovatio*. Hinc Chrysostomus, &c. Then he quotes Chrysostom's words on Rom. xii. 2. Hom. xx. p. 659. tom. ix. ed. Bened. And afterwards adds; Similia videas apud Photium & Theophylactum.

than *baptism*; and so can never want to be *repeated* in the *whole* thing; whereas *renovation* may be often *repeated*, or may be *totally* lost. *Once regenerate and always regenerate*, in some part, is a true maxim in Christianity, only not in such a sense has some moderns have taught *. But a person once *regenerated* in baptism can never want to be regenerated again in this life, any more than he can want to be *re-baptized*. So much for the *difference* between *regeneration* and *renovation*†: let us next consider how far they *agree*, or how near they are *allied*. As one is

* Those I mean who have taught that the *regenerate* can never *finally* fall from *grace*. See our 16th Article on this head.

† Vossius distinguishes *regeneration* from *renovation* by what they respectively *contain*, thus: Quemadmodum vero ad *regenerationem*, pressius sumptam, pertinet *remissio* peccatorum; ita ad *renovationem* refertur *mortificatio* veteris, & *vivificatio* novi hominis; quæ idcirco *baptismo* tribuuntur. De Bapt. disp. ix. thes. vi. Op. tom. vi. p. 270.

Gerhard distinguishes nearly the same way in his Common Places. *Regenerationis* vocabulum quandoque *generale* est, ipsam quoque *renovationem* in ambitu suo complectens: interim tamen, proprie & accurate loquendo, *regeneratio* a *renovatione* distincta est. Tom. iv. p. 495. Renovatio, licet a *regeneratione* proprie & specialiter accepta distinguatur, individuo tamen & perpetuo nexu cum ea est conjuncta.——Per baptismum homo non solum *renascitur*, (id est, peccatorum *remissionem* consequitur, *justitiam Christi* induit, *filius* Dei & *hæres* vitæ æternæ efficitur,) sed etiam *renovatur*; hoc est, datur ipsi Spiritus Sanctus, qui *intellectum*, *voluntatem*, & omnes *animi* vires *renovare* incipit, ut amissa *Dei imago* in ipso incipiat *instaurari*, &c. p. 504. *Regenerationis* vox quandoque sumitur γενικως, ut & re-

a renewal of the *spiritual state*, and the other a renewal of the *heart* and *mind*, it must follow, that so far as a renewal of *mind* is necessary to a renewal of *state*, so far it is a necessary ingredient of the *new birth*, or an *integral part* of it. A grant is suspended, frustrate, as to any *beneficial* effect, while not properly received: and while there is an insuperable bar to the salutary reception of it, it cannot be savingly *received* or *applied*. Therefore, in the case of *adults*, regeneration and renovation must go together: otherwise the regeneration is not a *salutary*, nor a complete *regeneration*, wanting one necessary ingredient of it, namely, a *capacity*, or *qualification*.

But this may still be more clearly understood, by applying those *general* principles to four *special* cases; which I shall next endeavour to do, and then shall take leave of this head. The *four* cases are, 1. The case of *grown* persons coming to baptism in their *integrity*, and so continuing afterwards. 2. The case of *infants* brought in their *innocency*, and " leading the " rest of their lives according to that beginning." 3. The case of such grown persons or

missionem peccatorum, & *renovationem* simul complectatur; quandoque vero ειδικως accipitur, ut *remissionem* peccatorum ac gratuitam *justificationem* tantummodo designet. Tom. iii. p. 714.

infants so baptized, but *falling off* afterwards. 4. The case of grown persons coming to baptism in *hypocrisy* or *impenitency;* but repenting afterwards and turning to God. The considering how the affair of *regeneration* or *renovation* may respectively stand in each of these cases, may perhaps serve to clear up the whole matter to greater satisfaction.

1. I begin with the case of *grown* persons, called *adults*, coming to baptism fitly prepared by faith and repentance, and afterwards persevering to the end. This was a common case in the earliest days of Christianity, when the whole world wanted to be converted. *Grown* persons were then the most, and the most considerable candidates for baptism. When the discipline of the church came to be settled into something of a regular and standing form, those candidates for baptism were trained up beforehand, by proper instructions, and were therefore called *Catechumens**. Afterwards they were to be admitted to *baptism*, when fitly prepared, in order to be effectually *born of water and the Spirit*, and so made living "members of Christ, "children of God, and heirs of the kingdom "of heaven." *Faith* and *repentance* alone, though both of them were antecedently *gifts* of the

* Bingham, x. 1, 4.

Spirit, were not supposed *ordinarily* to make them *regenerate*, or to entitle them to *salvation*, without *baptism*, by the scripture accounts *. There might be some special cases, or uncommon circumstances, where *martyrdom* supplied the place of *water-baptism*, or where *extremities* were supposed to *supersede* it †; in which cases, inward regeneration might be perfected without the outward *sign* and *sacrament* of it: but according to the *ordinary* rule, faith and repentance were to be perfected by *baptism*, both for the making *regeneration*, and the giving a title to *salvation* ‡. For, without baptism, a person is not *regenerate;* at least, not in the eye of the church, which must judge by the *ordinary* rule, and which cannot *dispense*, whatever God himself may please to do, in such cases §. Till baptism succeeds,

* Mark xvi. 16. John iii. 5. Ephes. v. 26. 1 Cor. xii. 13. 1 Pet. iii. 21.

† Bingham, x. 19—21. p. 42, &c. alias p. 431.—Augustin. de Bapt. l. iv. c. xxii.—Hooker, b. v. n. lx.

‡ *Nisi quis nascitur ex aqua & Spiritu, non ibit in regnum Dei*: id est, non erit *sanctus*. Ita omnis anima eo usque in *Adam* censetur, donec in *Christo* recenseatur; tamdiu *immunda* quamdiu recenseatur: peccatrix autem quia immunda, recipiens ignominiam ex *carnis* societate. Tertull. de Anima. c. xl. p. 294.

Αρχη μοι ζωης το βαπτισμα, και πρωτη ἡμερων εκεινη ἡ της παλιγγενεσιας ἡμερα. Basil. de Spirit. Sanct. c. x. p. 22. tom. iii. ed. Bened.——Conf. c. xii. p. 23, 24.—Item Bull. Apolog. p. 650. alias 23.—Damascen. de Rect. Fid. l. iv. c. ix. p. 261.—Voss. de Bapt. Op. tom. vi. p. 269.

§ Institutio sacramentorum, quantum ad *Deum* autorem, *dis-*

the solemn and saving *stipulation** between God and the party does not pass in due form; nor the awful *consecration* of the man to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost †. He is not yet *buried with Christ into death*, nor *planted in the likeness of his resurrection* ‡; nor indeed *cloathed with Christ*, the baptismal garment §. Therefore, in strictness, he is not "a *member* of Christ," nor "a *child* of God," nor a *citizen* of Christ's kingdom; but an *alien* still, having no *covenant-claim* to the gospel-privileges ‖. But when a penitent becomes *baptized*, then commences his *new birth*, his "*death* "*unto sin*," in the plenary remission of it, (by the *application* of the merits of Christ's death,) and

pensationis est; quantum vero ad *hominem* obedientem, *necessitatis:* quoniam in potestate Dei est *præter ista* hominem salvare; sed in potestate hominis non est *sine istis* ad salutem pervenire. Hugo de Sacrament. l. i. c. v. in Hooker, p. 276.

* See I Pet. iii. 22.

† Matt. xxviii. 19.

‡ Rom. vi. 3, 4, &c.

§ Gal. iii. 27.

‖ "As we are not naturally *men* without *birth*, so neither are "we *Christian men*, in the eye of the church of God, but by "*new birth;* nor, according to the manifest ordinary course of "divine dispensation, *new-born*, but by that *baptism* which both "*declareth* and *maketh* us Christians. In which respect we "justly hold it to be the *door* of our *actual entrance* into God's "house, the first apparent beginning of life; a seal perhaps to "the *grace* of *election* before received, but to our *sanctification* "here, a step that hath not any before it." Hooker, b. v. n. lx. p. 276.

his new *life unto God*, through Jesus Christ once raised from the grave, and from thenceforth ever *living unto God**. And now that *renovation*, which in some degree was *previous* to regeneration, becomes, in greater degrees, a *fruit* and *complement* of it; and it *grows* more and more, by the *indwelling* of that same *Spirit*, whose remote addresses and distant overtures first brought the man to that *faith* and *repentance*, which prepared him for salutary baptism, and for true and complete sonship, or Christian adoption. More need not be said of the first of the *four* cases, and therefore now I proceed to a second.

2. The second is the case of *infants*. Their innocence and incapacity are to them instead of *repentance*, which they do not need, and of actual *faith*, which they cannot have. They are capable of being savingly *born* of *water* and the *Spirit*, and of being *adopted* into *sonship*, with what depends thereupon; because, though they bring no *virtues* with them, no *positive* righteousness, yet they bring no *obstacle* or *impediment*. They *stipulate*, they enter into *contract*, by their sureties, upon a presumptive and interpretative consent; they become *consecrated* in solemn form to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; pardon, mercy, and other *covenant-privileges* are made over to

* Rom. vi. 10, 11. Mark xvi. 16. Acts viii. 37. x. 47.

them*; and the Holy Spirit translates them out of their state of *nature* (to which a *curse* belongs) to a state of *grace*, *favour*, and *blessing*. This is their regeneration †. Wherefore in our public Offices, formed upon the ancient rules and precedents, we pray, that the infants brought to be baptized may be "washed and *sanctified* with the "Holy Ghost"——may "receive *remission* of "their sins by spiritual *regeneration*"——may be "*born again*;" and that "the *old* Adam may be "so *buried*, that the *new* man may be *raised up* "in them." We declare afterwards, that they "are *regenerate*, and *grafted* into the body of "Christ's church;" giving thanks also to God, that "it hath pleased him to *regenerate* them with "his holy Spirit, and to receive them for his own "*children* by adoption, and to *incorporate* them

* Certe nemo neget, infantes capaces esse beneficii αφεσεως των αμαρτιων, quod δικαιωσιν, *justificationem*, appellare solemus: est enim id beneficium *externum* & σχετικον, quod in infantes ad *Christi Jesu* intercessionem, propter ejus ὑπακοην, *Spiritu Sancto* pro illorum *conversione* & *renovatione* spondente, (liceat hic humano more balbutire,) conferri potest. Vitringæ Obs. Sacr. l. ii. c. vi. p. 338.

† Omnes enim venit [Dominus] per semetipsum salvare; omnes, inquam, qui per eum *renascuntur* in Deum; *infantes*, & parvulos, & pueros, & juniores, & seniores. Iren. l. ii. c. xxii. p. 147. edit. Bened.——Conf. Voss. tom. vi. p. 278. 307.

" into his holy church *." It may reasonably be presumed, that from the time of their *new birth* of water and the Spirit, (which at that very moment is a renewal of their *state* to God-ward,) the renewing also of the *heart* may come gradually on with their first dawnings of *reason*, in such measures as they shall yet be capable of; in a way to us imperceptible, but known to that divine Spirit who *regenerates* them, and whose *temple* from thenceforth they are†, till they defile themselves with *actual* and *grievous* sin. In this case, it is to be noted, that regeneration *precedes*, and renovation can only *follow* after‡: though infants may perhaps be found capable of receiving

* Public Baptism of Infants.—Compare Office of Private Baptism, where it is said, that the infant " is now, by the laver " of *regeneration* in baptism, received into the number of the " *children* of God;" and the Catechism, question the second, with the answer: and the latter part concerning the sacrament of *baptism*. Compare also the Office of Confirmation, repeating the same doctrine.

† Vid. Augustin. Epist. clxxxvii. c. viii. p. 686.

‡ In baptizatis infantibus *præcedit* regenerationis sacramentum, & si Christianam tenuerint pietatem, *sequetur* in corde *conversio*, cujus mysterium præcessit in corpore.——In infantibus qui baptizati *moriuntur*, eadem gratia Omnipotentis implere credenda est; quod non ex impia voluntate, sed ex ætatis indigentia, nec *corde credere ad justitiam* possunt, nec *ore confiteri ad salutem*. Augustin. de Bapt. l. v. c. xxiv. p. 140.—Conf. Nazianz. Orat. xxxvii. p. 609.

some seeds of *internal grace* sooner than is commonly imagined*.

But enough of this.

3. A third case, which I promised to speak to, is that of those who fall off, after they have once been savingly *regenerated*. If such persons *fall away* by desertion and disobedience, still their baptismal *consecration*, and their *covenant-state* consequent, abide and stand; but without their *saving* effect, for the time being: because, without present *renovation*, the *new birth*, or *spiritual life*, as to salutary purposes, is, in a manner, sinking, drooping, ceasing. Their regenerate state, upon their revolt, is no longer such, in the *full* saving sense, wanting one of its *integral* parts; like as a ruinated house ceases to be a *house*, when it has nothing left but *walls*. But yet, as a house, while there are *walls* left, does not need to be *rebuilt* from the ground, but *repaired* only, in order to become a *house* again as before; so a person once savingly *regenerated*, and afterwards losing all the *salutary* use of it, will not want to be *regenerated* again, or *born anew*, but to be *reformed* only. Which when done, his regeneration, before decayed, and as to any *saving* effect, for the time, well-nigh ruinated, but never *totally*

* Vid. Vitring. Observ. Sacr. l. ii. c. vi. p. 329. alias 339.—Voss. de Bapt. disp. vi. Op. tom. vi. p. 278.

lost*, becomes again *whole* and *entire*. To be short, *perfect* regeneration is to the *spiritual* life, what *perfect* health is to the *natural*: and the *recoveries* of the spiritual *health*, time after time, are not a *new* regeneration, but a restoring or improving of the *old*. To be *born anew* would be the same thing as to have *all* done over again, that God had before done to make a man a *Christian*, and to put him into a *covenant-state*: but since he, who is once a *Christian*, is always a *Christian*, and there is no such thing as a *second* baptism, it is plain, that there can be no such thing here as a second *new birth*, or a second *regeneration*. But of this I said enough before.

4. The *fourth* case, which yet remains to be considered, is the case of those who receive baptism (like Simon Magus, suppose,) in *hypocrisy* or *impenitency*. Do they therein receive any thing of the Lord? Or if they do, what is it? Are they thereby regenerated, or born again;

* Regenerationis gratiam ita etiam hi non minuunt qui dona *non servant*, sicut *lucis* nitorem loca *immunda* non polluunt. Qui ergo gaudes baptismi perceptione, vive in *novi hominis* sanctitate; & tenens fidem quæ per dilectionem operatur, habe bonum quod nondum habes, ut *prosit* tibi bonum quod habes. Prosper. Sentent. cccxxv. apud Augustin. tom. x. p. 245. append.

Spiritalis enim virtus sacramenti ita est ut *lux*, & ab illuminandis *pura* accipiatur, & si per *immundos* transeat, non inquinatur. Augustin. in Johann. Tract. vi. n. xv. p. 327. tom. iii. part. ii.

born of *water* and of the *Spirit?* I answer, they are either born of *both*, or of *neither:* for otherwise, *born of water and of the Spirit* would not mean *one birth*, but *two*; and so a person might happen to have *two* new births, one of *water* first, and another of the *Spirit* afterwards: which cannot reasonably be supposed. Besides that, the being born of *water* only, which really does nothing of itself, could amount only to a *washing*, (nothing better than *being born* of the *flesh*,) and therefore could not be true or valid *baptism* in Christian account. Shall we then say, that the ungodly and impenitent are in baptism *born* of the *Spirit?* That is a point which, I apprehend, can neither be affirmed nor denied *absolutely*, but with proper *distinctions*. It was anciently a kind of maxim, or ruled case in the church, that all *true* and *valid* baptism must be so made by the *Spirit**. And though some seem to have denied

* That was a maxim among the Cyprianists especially, (see above, p. 7.) and so it came down to Jerom, who is very express on that head. Apparet baptisma non esse sine *Spiritu Sancto.*———Illud nobis monstraretur, *verum* esse baptisma quo *Spiritus Sanctus* adveniat.———Ecclesiæ baptisma sine *Spiritu Sancto* nullum est.———Cum baptisma Christi sine *Spiritu Sancto* nullum sit.———*Spiritum Sanctum*, quem nos asserimus in *vero baptismate* tribui. Hieron. adv. Lucif. p. 293—295. tom. iv. ed. Bened.—Conf. Epist. lxxxii. ad Oceanum, p. 651. tom. iv.

it, or to have demurred upon it*, yet they really admitted the same thing in other words, by admitting that all *true* baptism was *Christ's* baptism, and carried a *sanctity* with it †. Therefore that part of the dispute was only about *words*, both sides agreeing in the main things. The real and

* St. Austin was one of those. He writes thus: *Spiritus Sanctus* disciplinæ fugiet fictum, nec tamen eum fugiet *baptismus*.——Potest baptisma esse & unde *se aufert* Spiritus Sanctus. ——*Induunt* autem homines *Christum*, aliquando usque ad *sacramenti* perceptionem, aliquando & usque ad *vitæ sanctificationem*. ——Si baptisma esse *sine Spiritu non potest*, habent & Spiritum hæretici, sed ad *perniciem*, non ad *salutem*; sicut habuit Saul, 1 Reg. xviii. 10.——sicut habent *avari*, qui tamen non sunt *templum* Dei.——Si autem non habent avari *Spiritum* Dei, & tamen habent baptisma, potest esse *sine Spiritu* baptisma. De Bapt. l. v. c. xxiii, xxiv. p. 157. tom. ix.

† Baptismus Christi, verbis evangelicis *consecratus*, & per adulteros, & in adulteris *sanctus est*, quamvis illi sint impudici & immundi; quia ipsa ejus *sanctitas* pollui non potest, & *sacramento* suo *divina* virtus adsistit, sive ad *salutem* bene utentium, sive ad *perniciem* male utentium. Augustin. de Bapt. l. iii. c. x. p. 113. tom. ix.—Conf. p. 115, 176, 199, 268, 296. & contra Epist. Parmen. l. ii. c. xiii. p. 44, 45, 80. tom. ix.

N. B. As St. Austin allows that *sanctity* goes along with all *true* and *valid* baptism, and as all *sanctification* is of and from the *Holy Spirit*, he must of consequence admit all that Jerom contended for; namely, that all *valid* baptism is so made by the *Spirit*. Only he denied such *valid* baptism in ill men to be *saving* for the time being: and Jerom also denied the same; both agreeing, that baptism might be *true* and *valid*, as sanctified by the *Spirit*, though not *salutary* to some persons, in such and such circumstances.

full truth of the case I take to lie in the particulars here following. 1. It is certain in the general, that the *Holy Spirit*, some way or other, has a hand in every *true* and *valid* baptism. God never fails as to his part in an awful *sacrament*, however men may guiltily fail in theirs. 2. The *Holy Spirit* is in some sort *offered* to all that receive Christian baptism: for the very nature of a *sacrament* requires, that the *sign* and the *grace* should so far go together: and the *unworthy* could not be guilty of *rejecting* the grace while they *received* the sign, if both were not *offered* them. 3. As the Holy Spirit *consecrates* and sanctifies the *waters* of baptism, giving them an *outward* and *relative* holiness; so he *consecrates* the *persons* also in an *outward* and *relative* sense, whether good or bad, by a *sacred* dedication of them to the worship and service of the *whole Trinity:* which *consecration* is for ever binding, and has its effect, either to the *salvation* of the parties, if they repent and amend, or to their greater *damnation*, if they do not. 4. I must add, that even the *unworthy* are by their baptism put into a *Christian* state: otherwise they would be as mere *Pagans* still, and would want a *new baptism* to make them *Christians*. Therefore, as they are by baptism translated out of their *natural* state into the state *Christian*, they must be supposed to have *pardon* and *grace*, and all gospel-privileges, *conditionally* made over

to them, though not yet *actually* applied, by reason of their disqualifications: a grant, which will do them no manner of *service**, but *hurt*, if they never repent: but if ever they do repent and turn to God, then that *conditional* grant, suspended as it were before, with respect to any *saving* effects, begins at length to take place effectually; and so their baptism, which had stood waiting without any *salutary* fruit for a time, now becomes *beneficial* and *saving* to the returning penitents. At the same time, their *regeneration*, begun in baptism, and left unfinished, (like an *indenture* executed on one side only, or like a *part* without a *counter-part*,) comes at last to be complete, that is, actually *salutary*; not by a formal *regeneration*, (as if nothing had been done before,) but by the *repentance* of the man, and by the *sanctification* or *renovation* of the heart and mind through the *Spirit*, which had been hitherto wanting.

* Nihil quippe profuit Simoni Mago visibilis baptismus, cui sanctificatio invisibilis defuit. Augustin. super Levit. Qu. lxxxiv. p. 524. tom. iii.

Note, that *sanctification* is here used in a different meaning from what St. Austin used it in, when he spake of a *sanctification* going along with all *true* and *valid* baptism, though not *saving*. There he meant an *outward* sanctification, such as I have before described: here he means the *inward sanctification* of any one's heart and mind, necessary to make his baptism, which was before *valid*, to become *saving* also.

I have now run through the *four* several *cases* proposed, observing how the affair of *regeneration* and *renovation* stands under each; in order to give the more distinct idea of both, and to remove the main difficulties which appeared to concern either of them. From this account may be collected these particulars: 1. That *regeneration*, as containing grants of *remission*, *justification*, *adoption*, *covenant-claim* to life eternal, is a very different notion from *renovation*, which contains only a *renewal* of *heart* and *mind*. 2. That *regeneration* is in some cases (as particularly in the case of baptized infants) not only different in *notion*, or distinct in *theory*, but really and actually *separate* from *renovation*, for the time being. 3. That in other cases, *regeneration*, while it takes in *renovation* to render it *complete*, or *salutary* to the *recipient*, (and is in fact joined with it,) yet even there it differs from *renovation*, as the *whole* differs from a *part*. 4. That suppose what case, or what circumstances you please, the two *words* or *names* stand, or ought to stand, for different *notions*, for different *combinations* of *ideas*; and never are, or at least never ought to be, used as *reciprocal*, *convertible* terms. Nothing now remains, but to draw some corollaries or inferences from the general principles before laid down, by way of application, for our farther improvement.

III. I proceed therefore to my *third* head of discourse, according to the method chalked out in the entrance above.

1. The first reflexion I have to make is, that it is very *improper* language at least, to call upon those who have once been *regenerated*, in their infancy, who have had their *new birth* already at the *font*, to be now regenerated; or to bid them expect a *new birth*. Such applications might properly be directed to *Jews*, *Turks*, or *Pagans*, or to such *nominal* Christians as have thrown off *water-baptism:* for such really want to be *regenerated*, or *born again*, being still in their *natural* state. But as to others, who are, or have been, savingly *regenerated* of *water* and the *Spirit*, they should be called upon only to *repent* or *reform*, in order to preserve or repair that *regenerate* state which the *Spirit* once gave them, and which he gave not in vain. There is no instance, no example in Scripture (as I before hinted) of any exhortation made to *Christians* to become *regenerated*, or *born anew*, but to be *reformed* only, or *renewed* in the *inner man*; which is a very different notion from the other, as I have before manifested at large. Even *Simon Magus*, who had been baptized in iniquity, was not exhorted to be *regenerated* afterwards, or *born again*, but to repent*. Our Lord himself, in the book of Revelations,

* Acts viii. 22.

made use of the like language towards the *revolting* churches; not bidding them become *regenerate*, but ordering them to *repent* :* and the wicked prophetess or sorceress, *Jezebel*, had time given her, not to be *regenerated* again, but to *repent*†. The only place I know of in Scripture, that looks at all favourable to the notion of a *second* regeneration here, is a text of St. Paul's, where writing to the *revolting* church of Galatia, and calling them *his children*, he introduces himself under the emblem of a *pregnant* mother, and says; *My little children, of whom I travail in birth again, till Christ be formed in you*‡. But then consider, what an infinite difference there is between the force and import of the two *figures :* one, of a minister's *instrumentally* forming the *minds* and *manners* of his people to *faith* and *holiness*§; and the other, of the Spirit's *authoritatively* adopting them into *divine sonship*, and into

* Revel. ii. 5, 16. iii. 3, 19.

† Revel. ii. 20, 21.

‡ Gal. iv. 19.

§ See that *figure* or *emblem* explained in the *ancient* testimonies collected by Suicer in his Thesaurus, under the word Τεκνα, vol. ii. p. 1243, 1585. And compare Perkins, in answer to the objection about a *second regeneration*, as drawn from Gal. iv. 19. For though he intended his *answer* for the service of another *hypothesis*, which I have nothing to do with, yet the substance of it is true and just upon any hypothesis. See Perkins's Comment on that Epistle, amongst his Works, vol. ii. p. 293, 294.

citizenship with all the family of heaven. The *minister*'s instrumental work of *converting* or *renewing* (as even the Spirit's renewing) may often be undone, and may come over and over again: but the *regeneration* of *water* and the *Spirit*, the *consecration* and *adoption* unto God, is quite another thing. Therefore that *lower* sort of *sonship* of a *disciple* towards his *teacher* or *master*, may fail and be quite extinct: but that *higher* kind of *sonship* or *adoption*, once made in *baptism*, has an abiding force and virtue in it, and never wants to be *reiterated*, as it can never be totally *frustrated* or made void. In short then, the Galatians might be begotten again to St. Paul, because that meant no more than the being *reinstructed* in the faith, and *reclaimed* in manners: but they could not be begotten again *to God*, unless they were to have been *rebaptized*; which the apostle had no thought of.

The mistake in this matter, I imagine, first arose from the misinterpreting some texts*, which plainly import a *water-baptism*, of an inward baptism of the *Spirit* only. From hence, by degrees, *outward* baptism came to be thrown out of the idea of *regeneration*†. The next step was to con-

* As John iii. 5. and also Tit. iii. 5. See above, p. 2, 3.

† How mischievous this is, and how contrary to the *ancient* doctrine of *fathers*, (grounded upon *Scripture*,) may appear

found renewal of *state* with renewal of *mind*, and so to throw the former out of the idea of *regeneration*, making it the same with what the text calls *renovation*. In a while, *conversion* and *repentance* came to be used as terms equivalent to *regeneration:* and the consequence thence naturally following would terminate in rejecting the doctrine of *infant-regeneration*, as infants are uncapable of *conversion* or *repentance:* and the next consequence to that would of course bear hard upon *infant-baptism*. But that I mention by the way only, as an instance of the *gradual* alterations made in the signification of *words* or *names*, and of the *mischiefs* from thence arising. Indeed, most errors, which have crept into the church, have either been originally founded in *abuse* of *words*, or kept up by it.

from the large commendations they gave of *baptism*, including *sign* and *thing*; such as—*laver of life—fountain of life—garment of incorruption—key of the heavenly kingdom—water of life—living water—quickening water—heavenly donative—grace—health life—seal—unction—choice gift of God—viaticum—pledge of resurrection—tremendous mystery*, such as, *unites* us *to Christ*, makes us of the *same flesh* wish him, or the *temple* of the *Holy Spirit* and of *Christ*. The authorities to this purpose are collected by Albertinus, de Eucharistia, and the places of his book are referred to in his Index under Baptismus. Now, though those high expressions ought to be understood *cum grano salis*, in a *qualified* sense; yet certainly it is a great mistake to speak slightly of *water-baptism*, or not to take it in as the *ordinary* and *necessary*, though instrumental, cause of *regeneration*, *sanctification*, and perfect *renovation*.

2. Having shewn how *improper* the language is, when *Christians* are called upon to be *regenerated*, I may next observe how *mischievous* also it is many ways, and therefore cannot be looked upon as a mere *verbal* business, or an innocent *misnomer*. 1. The telling of the common people, that they ought now to be *regenerated*, which few will rightly understand, instead of telling them plainly, that they ought, with the help of God's grace, speedily to *repent* and *amend*, (which is all the meaning, if it has any *good* meaning,) is giving them only a *dark* lesson instead of a *clear* one, and throwing *mists* before their eyes in a most momentous article, nearly affecting Christian practice, and the spiritual life. 2. The calling upon Christians to be *regenerated*, in a new and wrong sense of the word, when they have been used to *another* and better sense in our *public* Offices, and have been taught that they have been *regenerated* long ago, will not only be apt to confound their understandings, but may fill them with many a vain *scruple*, such as may give great disturbance to weak minds. 3. Another inconvenience may be, that if instead of reminding them to preserve or repair that *regeneration* which they received in their baptism, they are called upon to receive a *second*, they may thereby be led off from looking back to their *baptismal vows*, (which are excellent lessons of true Christian

piety,) and may be put upon quite another scent, nothing near so useful or edifying to them. 4. A further mischief likely to happen in that way is, that many, instead of carefully searching into their lives past, to see wherein they have *offended*, (which is one of the first steps towards *conviction*, and *remorse*, and serious *amendment*,) may be apt to go in quest of what they will call *impulses*, or *inward feelings* of the Spirit; which commonly are nothing more than warm fancies, towering imaginations, and self-flattering presumptions. And this may probably take them off from a cool, careful, and impartial examination into their past life and conduct, by the safe and unerring rule of God's *written* commandments. 5. But what is worst of all, and what has frequently happened, is, that when men become more ambitious of the *honour* and *authority* which the name of the *Spirit* carries with it, than of squaring their lives by the *rules* of that Spirit, laid down in the Gospel, they will be prone to follow any invention or imagination of their own, and will be presumptuous enough to father it upon the blessed Spirit of God*. It is a glorious,

* *Simon Magus*, of the first age, ambitious of the *thing*, for the sake chiefly of the *name*, gave it out that he was *some great one*, Acts viii. 9. or some *great power of God*, Acts viii. 10, 18, 19. Among the *Samaritans* he pretended to be as the oracle of

and a most desirable privilege, to be divinely *inspired*, divinely *illuminated*, divinely *conducted*: and as it is so honourable, and so desirable, we need not wonder, if pure *self-flattery*, indulged too far, should lead many, almost *imperceptibly*, (for what more insinuating than the *illusions* of self-love?) into a serious persuasion that they themselves are the *happy favourites* of that divine

God the *Father*; among the *Jews*, of the *Son*; and among the *Gentiles*, of the *Holy Ghost*. Iren. l. i. c. xviii. p. 99.—Conf. Domin. Massuet. præf. p. 55.

Montanus, of the second century, boasted highly and vainly of the *Spirit*, and deceived many. See Lee's History of Montanism, per tot.

Faustus the Manichee, of the fourth century, being excessively vain, was full of the like big pretences; as St. Austin observes. Non enim *parvi* existimari se voluit, sed *Spiritum Sanctum*, consolatorem & ditatorem fidelium tuorum, auctoritate plenaria, personaliter *in se esse* persuadere conatus est. Confess. l. v. c v. p. 111. ed. Bened.

Something of like kind has been perhaps in every age since. But the all-wise conduct of *divine* Providence is very observable in all; that *scripture-inspiration* for 1700 years has maintained its *sole* privilege; and all the other, so far as they have been considered as such, have passed off as *dreams*.

That vanity seems to have commenced first here in England, (since the *reformation*, I mean,) or however to have first made some figure, about 100 years ago, set up by persons, who, having neither *commission*, nor *talents*, nor *furniture* proper for the *ministry*, professed themselves *saints*, and *sons* of *inspiration*, as the shortest way to silence all objections, and to stop further examination. See Thomas Collier's Letters to the Saints in Taunton, (bearing date A. D 1646.) in Edwards's Gangræna, part iii. p. 51, &c.

Spirit. How compendious a method may it seem of arriving suddenly to *deep learning* without study, and to *profound wisdom* without pain of thought; without the irksome labour of languages, history, and critical enquiries, ordinarily requisite to form a *judicious* interpreter of God's word, and a skilful guide of souls! While others are content to wait for *wisdom* till an advanced age, and in the mean while to go on in the *slow* methods of *labour* and *industry*, (as God has appointed,) these more early proficients affect to become wise *at once*, wise in a most *eminent* degree, at a much cheaper and easier rate. Who would not wish to be so signally blessed, if it might be in *these days*; or if he knew of any *certain warrant* to bear him harmless, in his making so familiar with the *tremendous* name of the *Holy Spirit* of God? But humble and modest men, who have a due *reverence* for the *Spirit*, and some knowledge of *themselves*, dare not presume so far; being well aware, that the setting up a *private spirit*, an imaginary *inspiration*, as a rule of conduct, has been one of the subtilest engines of Satan, in all past ages. God has permitted it, probably, for the *trial* of his *faithful* servants, that they may be *proved* and *exercised* every way; and may learn to be as much upon their guard against any *surprize* of their *understandings*, as against any *seduction* of their *wills*. There are, as I hinted,

strong temptations inclining forward men to set up their pretensions to a *private spirit*. It flatters the *pride*, *laziness*, and *vanity* of corrupt nature. Most men love to indulge their own way and humour, and to get from under the *sober standing rules* of order, decency, and regularity. They would be their own *masters* and *law-givers*, and even make laws for others: and if they can but once persuade themselves, (and what will not blind *self-love* persuade a man into?) that they are *full* of the *Spirit*, they soon grow regardless of the open laws of God and man, affecting to conduct both themselves and others by some *secret* rules of their own breasts. This is a very dangerous *self-deceit*, and not more *dangerous* than it has been *common* in all ages and countries, as before hinted. If none but *hypocrites* or *ill-designing* men were to be drawn into this snare, the temptation would be *coarsely* laid, and be the less apt to deceive: but the *well meaning* pretenders to the *Spirit*, who through a secret unperceived *self-flattery*, or a complexional melancholy, first deceive *themselves*, they are of all men the fittest to deceive *others*. Their artless simplicity, their strong and endearing professions, are very apt to win upon some of the best-natured and best-disposed, though unguarded, Christians; which the *tempter* knows full well: and he never exercises a

deeper or a more refined policy, than when he can thus decoy some very sincere and devout Christians in a *pious* way, turning their *graces* into *snares*, and, as it were, foiling them with their own artillery.

It may be useful to observe the train, whereby this illusion passes upon the easy credulity of less-thinking persons. Instead of *repentance* and *amendment* of life, (to which the world should be exhorted,) *regeneration* by the *Spirit* is the phrase given out. From regeneration by the *Spirit* it appears but a small and slight transition to go on to *inspiration*; for that is a good word, when used in a just and sober sense; and it is frequently so used in our Church-Liturgy*. But the word will also bear a much *higher* sense, as when ascribed to the *apostles* or *sacred penmen*; and it is natural for self-admirers to take advantage of it, and to boast of it in an extravagant way, till at length they make their own presumptions so many dictates of the *Spirit*. The final result is the setting up a *new rule* of Christian faith or conduct, undermining, if not directly confronting, the rule of God's *written* word, laid down in the

* In what sense *inspiration* may be justly owned, and in what not, may be clearly seen in Dr. Claget's Treatise against Owen —Dr. Stebbing's Abridgment of it—Dr. Bennet against Quakerism—Mr. Leslie's Snake, &c. s. xxii. p. 314, &c.

Gospel*. Such has been the train, and such may be again, if we take not care to think and speak *soberly*, *humbly*, and *reverently* of what concerns the works and ways of the *divine* Spirit, as we ought to do.

3. It may perhaps be expected, that I should

* N. B. *Scripture* and *right* reason are undoubtedly the *rule* whereby every man ought to steer; though infinite ways have been invented, either to *elude* the rule, or to *change* it into something else, under some specious *names* or colours. They that *divide* Scripture and reason, more than half destroy the rule: but they that set aside *both*, for the sake of what they call *inspiration*, or *immediate revelation*, totally destroy the rule, and set up caprice and fancy, or what every body pleases, in its room.

They who contended lately for the *light of reason* as a rule *superior* to Scripture, or as the *only* rule, and who plainly meant nothing but to bring every rule to their *own way and will*; even they were fond of the name of *inspiration*, in their sense; pretending to be inspired, illuminated, or conducted by the *Spirit* or *Holy Spirit*. See a pamphlet entitled, The Infallibility of Human Judgment, printed in 1721, p. 44, 45. See also Tindal's Christianity, &c. p. 182, 194, 330. quarto edit.

A pamphlet was published in 1731, entitled, A Demonstration of the Insufficiency both of Reason and Revelation: and the purport of it was to intimate, that *immediate inspiration* was the one thing sufficient, p. 48. Which being what every man pleases to *make* it, or to *call* by that *name*, it is obvious to see how that principle, or pretended principle, sets a man loose from true *religion* and sound *reason*, to follow his *own devices*, under those feigned *names*. All that espouse that loose principle may not perhaps *see* what it leads to, nor *mean* to push it so far: but such plainly is the *natural* tendency of it; and it has been but too often exemplified in *fact*.

here say something upon a question heretofore raised, and often revived, about some pretended *marks* or *tokens* of *regeneration*. Those who first began to talk in that way (and who have been long dead) might be pious and well-meaning men: but they were not very happy in the *use* of their *terms*, or in the *choice* of their *marks*. They should not have asked for *marks* of *regeneration*, if they thereby meant *proofs* of a *conversion* subsequent to baptism; which it is certain they did mean: but they should rather have asked for *marks* of *renovation*, or of a *renewed* heart and mind. And what *marks* could a man pitch upon to satisfy *himself*, in such case, but a *good conscience?* Or what marks to satisfy *others*, but a *good life?* Then again, in drawing out their *marks*, care should have been taken to be *short* and *clear;* and more particularly to have made choice of none which many a sincere Christian may happen to want, and many a reprobate may chance to have. There was a great defect in those *marks*, that the difference of circumstances in different persons was not sufficiently considered. Some good Christians there are, (I hope, many,) who, having been regenerated at the font, have been so preserved and protected by God's *grace*, in conjunction with their own pious, persevering endeavours, as never to have experienced any

considerable decays of the *spiritual* life, or *regenerate* state. Must they be called upon to recollect the *day*, *week*, *month*, or *year* of their *conversion* or *regeneration*, who from their Christian infancy have never been in an *unconverted* or *unregenerate* state at all? Or must the *same* marks (suppose of strong conviction, fearful compunction, stinging remorse nigh to despair, and the like,) be sought for in such persons, who have loved and served God sincerely all their days; and who have found religion and righteousness to sit so easy upon them, (as *God's service is perfect freedom*,) that they have been all along strangers to those pangs, struggles, conflicts, which ungodly men must of course feel in the correcting their evil habits, upon their conversion to godliness? Those pretended marks are manifestly too *particular* to serve all cases, and too *uncertain* to be depended on in any. They appear to have a tendency to *perplex* some, and to *deceive* others; and therefore may prudently be thrown aside as things of *human* invention*: and in the mean while it will be safe and right to have recourse to *divine law*. Ask *our Lord* for a *mark* of a true disciple, and his resolution lies in few words, short and full: *If ye love me, keep my*

* See more of what concerns the pretended *marks* of *regeneration* in an excellent sermon of Archbishop Sharpe, vol. iii. serm. xiii. p. 299, &c.

*commandments**. That is his *mark* of what some call *regeneration*. If you consult *St. Paul* upon the same point, he will say; *As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God*†. And, *The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance: against such there is no law*‡. If you ask *St. John*, who seems to have written a good part of his first Epistle on purpose to confute some of his own time, who vainly boasted of being *born of God*, while they took no care to maintain *good works*§; I say, if you consult him, he will tell you; *Whosoever is born of God, doth not commit sin:* and, *In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil; whosoever doth not righteousness, is not of God*‖. The man is known by his

* John xiv. 15.

† Rom. viii. 14.

‡ Gal. v. 22, 23.

§ They seem to have been the Simonians, who, among other monstrous opinions, taught, that men are saved by *grace* only, and not according to their *good works*. *Secundum enim ipsius gratiam salvari homines, sed non secundum operas justas.* Iren. l. i. c. xxiii. p. 100. ed. Bened.—Conf. Theodorit. Hæret. Fab. l. i. c. i.—Bull. Harmon. dissert. i. p. 419. alias p. 13. diss. ii. p. 438. alias 33.

‖ 1 John iii. 9, 10.——"Ὁ ποιων την ἁμαρτιαν, *one that* "*makes sin*, a *sin maker:* and on the other side, he, the general "course and tenor of whose life and conversation is upright and

heart and *life*, tried by the rule of God's *commandments*. These are unerring, infallible *marks*; marks which every *good* Christian has, and every *bad* one wants. But if any scruple should remain about the *application* of this rule to every one's conscience, (because we have all of us *infirmities* and *in many things we offend all**,) the *safest* rule whereby to judge of our own particular state, as conform to the *scripture-rule*, I conceive to be this: if we sincerely take care to do the *best* we *can*, are daily gaining ground of our *vices* and our *passions*, and find ourselves, after the strictest examination, to be upon the *improving* hand, then may we comfortably believe that our *regeneration* yet abides, *salutary* and *entire*, and that we are in a state of *grace* and *salvation*†.

But above all things, beware of ever trusting to *inward feelings*, *secret impulses*, or the like, as *marks* of a good state, till you have thoroughly tried and examined them by the unerring rule of God's *written* word. What are any *impulses*,

" unblameable, is called ὁ ποιων την δικαιωσυνην, *one that makes* " *righteousness*——By the first, we understand one who *gives* " *his mind to sin, and makes a practice of it*: by the latter, we " understand one who *gives himself wholly to virtue*, and makes " it his *aim* and *study* to live a *good life*." Bishop Blackall, on the Sermon on the Mount, vol. i. serm. x. p. 335.

* James iii. 2.

† Compare Archbishop Sharpe's larger resolution of the same case, vol. iii. serm. xiii. p. 300, 301, 305, 306.

considered barely in themselves, but some *strong inclinations*, *motions*, or *affections*, which men feel in their breasts, and cannot presently distinguish from the *natural* workings of their own minds? But suppose them by their unusual *strength* or *warmth*, or their *uncommon manner* of affecting us, to import something *supernatural* or *extraordinary* (I only make the *supposition*, not affirming that *supernatural* motions are often, or in these days, so distinguished); then consider, that there are *evil spirits* to tempt and deceive, as well as a *good Spirit* to enlighten and sanctify; and there is no certain way of knowing (without well considering the nature and tendency, the justice or injustice of what we are *moved* to,) from *whence* the *impulse* cometh. *Judas* probably had a *strong impulse* upon him to betray his Lord; for *Satan* had *entered into him**. What *fair colours* the tempter might lay before him, to calm a rebuking conscience, and whether he might not persuade him, that it would be only giving our Lord an opportunity of setting forth his divine power and glory in his own *rescue*†, is more than we can certainly know: but *self flattery* is apt enough to invent, or to lay hold on *soft colourings* and *good meanings*; and there is scarce any wickedness whatever, but what is capable of being so *varnished* by a subtile

* Luke xxii. 3. John xiii. 2, 27.

† See Dr. Whitby's Comment on Matt. xxvii. 3.

wit. *Ananias* was perhaps another instance of *strong impulses*, moving him to *lie to the Holy Ghost* (a grievous sin, and near akin to *lying of the Holy Ghost*)*. Satan had *filled his heart*†. He also might have been deceived by *good meanings*, such as the tempter had artfully suggested, and thrown as *mists* before his eyes: but the thing was *evil in itself*, and he ought to have known it. It is certain that the *persecutors* of the church of Christ, *some* of them at least, had a very *good meaning* in it, *thinking to do God service*‡ by it; yet nobody can doubt but that they therein acted *wickedly:* and we have warrant sufficient from the general rule of Scripture (that *he that committeth sin is of the devil* §) to say, that they were *moved* and *actuated* by *Satan* in what they so did, though with a *zeal* for *God*, and a *pious* intention to serve him. Therefore again, it is exceeding dangerous to trust either to *warm impulses*, or to *godly intentions*, without first strictly enquir-

* The confident reporting a fact, which nearly concerns the *Holy Ghost*, by a person who *knows not* that *fact* to be a *truth*, is so like the calling upon God as *witness* to a *false*, or at least a *doubtful* fact, that I scarce see how to distinguish it, or how to excuse it from being equally criminal. There cannot however be too much *caution* used in matters of that *high* nature, so nearly affecting the honour of the *tremendous* Deity.

† Acts v. 3, 4.

‡ John xvi. 2. Acts xxvi. 9.

§ 1 John iii. 8. John viii. 44.

ing into the *nature* of the acts, and into the *lawfulness* of the *means* to be made use of for compassing the *end* aimed at. If any man *does evil that good may come*, he is a *transgressor*: it is acting *wickedly* for God, and dishonouring him most highly, in attempting to serve him by *sin*. Pious intentions, or godly aims, will never bear a man out in *unwarrantable* practices: the *end* must be *good*, and the *means* also, or else the action is *wicked*, and the man an *ungodly* man. Therefore, at last, as I before hinted, there is no *safe* rule to go by, but the rule of *right* reason in conjunction with God's *written* word: by these every *impulse* must be scanned and tried, both as to *end* and *means*, before we can pass any certain judgment of it, whether it comes from *Satan*, (if it be really *supernatural**,) or from the *Spirit of God*. If *God in the soul* (as some term it) commands any thing contrary to *God in the Bible*; as for instance, to be *disobedient* to lawful superiors in things good or lawful, to break comely *order* and *regularity*, (on which depends the very *life* of religion, and the *being* of a church,) or to *invade* other mens' provinces, or so much as to *take offence*, if not

* I put in that restriction, as being aware of a middle opinion, which looks upon most of those cases as *compassionate* cases, arising from some unhappy *distemper* of mind, some *complexional* disorder. See Meric Casaubon concerning Enthusiasm, printed A. D. 1655. And Dr. Henry More's Enthusiasmus Triumphatus, printed in 1656.

permitted to do so; or, if the supposed *God in the soul* is observed to blow men up with *spiritual pride* and *self-admiration*, and a supercilious *contempt* of others, teaching them to reject all remonstrances of sound *reason* to the contrary, as *carnal reason**, and all remonstrances offered from *Scripture*, as coming merely from *natural* men (which is, in short, resolving to stop their ears against *Scripture* and *reason*, to follow their own fancies); I say, if the supposed *God in the soul* either prescribes such practices, or instils such principles of error and confusion; then may we be assured, that it is not the *God of heaven* that does it, but the *God of this world*, (if any,) which sometimes *blinds the minds of them that believe not, lest the glorious gospel of Christ* (the *sovereign* rule of Christian faith and conduct) *should shine upon them*†. Great care should be taken not to invert the right order of things, not to begin at the

* See the pamphlet before mentioned, entitled, A Demonstration of the Insufficiency both of Reason and Revelation, p. 48—54. And compare Dr. Bennet's Confutation of Quakerism, c. v. p. 44—61. in answer to the fond pretences raised from a *mistaken* distinction between the *natural* and *spiritual* man; a distinction, as by some used, contrived only to fence against all conviction or persuasion, and to set up that monstrous *infallibility* in every *private* man's breast, which is justly detested by all sober men, when pretended to by any *public* person, or by any *collective* body of men whatsoever.

† 2 Cor. iv. 4.

wrong end. Say not, " We are favourites of " heaven, we *have the Spirit;* therefore our *hearts* " *are right*, and our *ways good*;" for that would be drawing a very *precarious* conclusion from *dark* and *disputable* premises: but say rather, (after *impartial* examination,) " Our *hearts are right*, " and our *ways good;* and therefore we *have the* " *Spirit*." For he that is *led* by the Spirit, and *walks* by the *written* rules of the Spirit, he, and he only, can upon sure grounds say, that he *has the Spirit**. And when he can say it, let him say it to *himself*, and to *God* (whom he ought to thank for so inestimable a blessing); and let him not rashly *boast* of it † before the world, nor cen-

* Rom. viii. 1. i. 4, 5, 14. Gal. v. 16, 18. *To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them.* Isai. viii. 20.

Hence it appears, that God's ordinary way of enlightening men is by the *outward* word written, and not by his *immediate* teaching or inspiration, without such *outward* means. The *Spirit*'s work is the *opening* and *disposing* the hearts of men to receive instruction from the *written* word; to improve by *mediate* (not *immediate*) revelation. See Whitby's Comment on James i. 18. p. 678, 679.

† I said " rashly," to exclude some very *rare* and *extraordinary* cases, where a person may *commend* himself. St. Paul did so: but then he *knew*, that what he said was strictly *true:* he *knew* that there was a very great *necessity* for it: he *knew* that he had *God's warrant* for so doing in that case, writing by *inspiration*, and able to give *miraculous proof of Christ speaking in him:* he did it not for *pre-eminence* over *true* apostles, but to

soriously *judge* or *despise* others; for that would be directly copying after the *proud Pharisee*, and would infallibly *quench the Spirit*. Common *modesty* and *decency*, and above all, our *common Christianity* forbids all such *boasting* of the ordinary *graces;* which would amount to the same with blazing it abroad, how *pure*, how *holy*, how *righteous* we take ourselves to be above others. Neither will it avail us, in such cases, to urge that we *know* it, and that we *thank God* for it, ascribing nothing to *ourselves:* for did not even the proud Pharisee do the same, when he said, *God I thank thee, that I am not as other men are**, &c? Christianity is an humble, quiet, peaceable, and orderly religion; not noisy or ostentatious, not assuming or censorious, not factious or tumultuous: they who think otherwise of it, are altogether strangers to it, and *know nothing yet, as they ought to know*, of the life and spirit of true Christianity.

4. And here, in the next place, it may not be amiss to throw in some few thoughts concerning a *passionate* religion, and the nature or danger of it. Indeed all our *passions* ought to center in God, and they can never be better spent than upon his

hinder *false* apostles from assuming a pre-eminence *over-him*, to the *destruction* of Christianity. Those were circumstances, which so justify his *self-commendation*, as to leave every other, if in *different* circumstances, or *differently* managed, without excuse.

* Luke xviii. 11.

glory and service. But *passion*, even in that case, without *reason*, *judgment*, or sound *discretion* in the use of *just* and *proper* means, works in like manner as any other wild and turbulent passion does; for *passion*, as such, is *blind*. *Violent* passions and *unruly* affections are the worst guides imaginable, whether in *religion*, or in any other affairs of *moment*. For, like as an over-zealous and over-officious *admirer* often forgets the good counsel of a *wise* friend whom he undertakes to serve, overlooks his instructions, disturbs all his affairs, crosses his interests, exposes his reputation, and makes it at length necessary for his friend to discard him for his ill-managed fondness: so an heady, unthinking *religionist*, through his *eagerness* and *impatience* in the cause of God, often forgets God's *sacred laws*, and overlooks his all-wise *commandments*; and in conclusion, rather disturbs, obstructs, and exposes religion, than serves it; and therefore cannot reasonably expect a *reward* for it. True religion requires both a *warm* heart, and a *cool* head; especially in a *minister* of it, if he proposes to do any good service in his function. It is easy for warm zealots to throw reflexions upon the wiser and more considerate guides, who come not up to their degrees of *intemperate* heat and ferment: but a small knowledge of mankind will suffice to shew, that they who will not be converted by cool, calm, and ra-

tional measures, will not be wrought upon, as to any good and lasting effect, by eagerness or passion. The world, indeed, is generally *bad*, always was, and always will be: but still we must not venture upon affected, irregular, unjustifiable courses, in order to reclaim it; which in reality would not *reclaim* it, but make it *worse*. Men must be brought to God, in God's own way, if at all. When the ministers of Christ have done all that was *just*, *prudent*, or *proper*, and the effect does not answer, they must not presume to grow as *mad* in one way, as *sinners* are in another, in hopes to recover them to their *senses*. Is any man *zealous for the Lord God of Hosts?* It is well that he is so. But still there is one thing of as great, or greater importance than any, and which ought to be looked to in the *first* place; namely, to rest contented with God's *approved* and *authorized* methods of *reforming* the world; to submit to his *wisdom*, rather than our *own*; to proceed no farther than God has *warranted*; but to *stop* where God requires it, as well as to *run* where he has *sent*. God will be served, as becomes an *awful* Governor of the universe, not with *amorous* freedoms, or *fond* familiarities, but with reverence and respectful fear; at a becoming *distance*, in due form and solemnity, and with the strictest *order* and *regularity*. He struck *Uzzah* with death

for his over-officiousness* ; condemned *Saul* for intermeddling where he had nothing to do† ; and reproved the *prophets*, or pretended prophets, for *prophesying lies in his name*, and *running* where they were not *sent* ‡. Under the New Testament, some transformed themselves into *apostles* of Christ, and gloried of their being *ministers of righteousness*, even above *St. Paul*. They were sharply rebuked by the same St. Paul ; and were by him put in mind, that they were *Satan's* ministers in doing it, and only copied after him ; for Satan knew how to be *transformed*, when occasion should serve, *into an angel of light* §. It seems, Satan could encourage righteousness *in part*, without being *divided* against himself ; inasmuch as he was sure to gain ten times more in the *whole*, if the artifice should succeed : because, in the last issue, it would turn to the utter destruction and dissolution of the religion of Christ. The same would be the case, were once a *private spirit* set up, under any pretence whatever, in opposition to the only true

* 2 Sam. vi. 7. 1 Chron. xiii. 9, 10.

† 1 Sam. xiii. 9.

‡ Jerem. xiv. 14, 15. xxiii. 21. xxvii. 14, 15. xxix. 9.

§ 2 Cor. xi. 13—15.—Compare 2 Cor. x. 2. It may be added, that the *Pharisees* pretended to a greater *strictness in religion* than was found in our Lord's *disciples*, or even in *Christ* himself, whom they rudely and madly charged as *loose* in comparison. Luke vii. 34.

and sober rule of God's *written* word, by which every *spirit* must be *tried*. It is in vain to say here, as some have done, that *spiritual* men only, that is, *themselves*, must judge of the *written* word: for, first, the question is, whether they are really *spiritual* men; a fact which stands only on their *own* partial testimony. Besides, they undoubtedly mistake the phrase of *spiritual men*, if they understand it of themselves, as favoured with *immediate* revelation. It deserves also to be considered, whether a formed resolution to hearken to no *reason* but their *own*, nor to give ear to *Scripture* itself, but as interpreted by *private fancy*, be not sealing up their eyes against *instruction*, and fatally giving themselves up to *strong delusions*.

5. But to return, and to conclude with what I began with; all I have to observe farther is to remind you, that as we have had our *regeneration* once in our *infancy*, (most of us,) it now lies upon us to *preserve*, or to *repair* and *improve* it, by a daily *renewing* of the *inner* man, by a sedate, regular, uniform obedience to all God's commandments. That will be the only sure *mark* of our love towards God, and likewise of his love towards us. Take we due care, that something of the *wisdom of the serpent* may always accompany the *innocence of the dove*; and that *religion* and *discretion* may constantly go hand in hand. As to

the open attacks of *infidels*, they perhaps may help to *confirm* and *harden* the *ill-disposed*, the *dissolute*, and *profane*, who probably would not return, (or very few of them,) though they had no such *advocates* to appear for them: but there may be *more* danger in attempts made to draw aside even the *well-disposed*, the *good*, and *godly*; who, if not beguiled in some *religious* shape, would probably persevere in their *salutary* courses to their dying day. Such persons deserve the kindest and most compassionate care of their faithful guides. May they continue firm and stedfast in that *good way* they are in; that which our pious *reformers*, about two hundred years ago, following the *ancient* models, have chalked out for them. Those were excellent men, and in a sober sense, *full* of the *Spirit*; which shined forth in their wise counsels, and their exemplary lives, visible, in a manner, to all *good men*; unless we may except *themselves*, whose great humility and modesty would scarce permit them to see what could not be hid from the observing world. Under such a regular and authorized ministry, as was then most justly established, our church (God be thanked) has subsisted and flourished, and does to this day. They who stand here, stand *safe*; while walking by the same rule, and minding the same thing; daily labouring and endeavouring to *have always*

a conscience void of offence towards God and towards men. Which that we may all do, God of his mercy grant, through our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

FINIS.

T. Curson Hansard, Printer ,Peterborough-Court, Fleet-Street.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

TO

DR. WATERLAND'S

SERMON ON *REGENERATION,*

TAKEN FROM

The Author's Copy of that Sermon now in possession of Archdeacon POTT, *and in his own hand-writing.*

Regenerated.

1.

CONSIDERED as a *birth* into a new state, as the *entrance* or *first admission* into such and such privileges, first reception of the *grants,* entrance into *sonship.*

1. Which grants may be considered as *made* and *received,* but not *salutarily* applied.

2. As *salutarily* applied.

As a *birth* it comes but *once,* though the things received, as justification, remission, &c. are *continued* acts. It differs from them as first *reception* does from *continuance* of them.

2.

Considered as a *continuance* of that state. When a man is said to *retain* his baptism, or to *lose* or *forfeit* it, the word means a *baptismal state:* so when Regeneration is said to be *retained* or *lost*, it means a *regenerate state*, or *sonship*. But as that state is never *wholly* lost, a man is never *rebaptized* or regenerated *again*, or entered into *sonship*.

3.

Both considered as *salutary*, or *not salutary; imperfect* as to their main end and use, or *perfect* with respect to their main end and use.

The perfective addition is considered as an *integral* part of it: and then *baptism*, in a *large* sense, takes in its *salutariness;* and *regeneration*, in a *large* sense, takes in *renovation*, and is distinguished from it as *whole* from part. In this view, a man may lose his sonship in *part*, which sonship is restored or repaired, by restoring that perfective part.

4.

Regeneration for *baptism*, or for the thing *signified* and *exhibited* in and by baptism. Baptism, in its *whole* notion, takes in *sign* and *thing*, comprehends *God's part* and *man's part*. *Water* and *Spirit*. To be validly baptized is the same as to be *regenerated* of water and the Spirit, but abstracting

from the question of *savingly* or not *savingly:* for all regeneration is not *saving*, any more than all *valid* baptism.

5.

Regeneration, or the grants once made and applied, are continued in and by the *worthy* receiving of the *Eucharist*, and is distinguished from that condition as a *birth* is from *life*, or as *reception* of life is from *nutrition* of the same. Life is no more *given*, no more *begun;* but it is repaired, renewed, preserved, nourished, kept up.

P. 2, Note *] Firmil. p. 148, 149. Clem. Alex. 156, 551. Hieronym. Pelagius, Theodorit. in loc.

P. 3, N. †] Gerhard. Loc. comm. Tom. iv. 596. Whitby in loc.

P. 7, N. †] Gale 483. Wall Def. p. 321.

P. 8.—*New Man*] Leo. I. Serm. iv. in solemn. nativit.

P. 9. Four states.

1. Ante Legem.
2. Sub Lege.
3. Sub Gratia.
4. Sub Pace plena.

In quacunque autem quatuor istarum velut ætatum singulum quemque hominem gratia *regenerationis* invenerit, ibi ei remittuntur præterita universa peccata, et reatus ille nascendo contractus, *renascendo* dissolvitur. Tamque multum valet quod *spiritus ubi vult spirat*, ut quidem secundam illam servitutem

sub lege non noverint, sed cum *mandato* incipient adjutorium habere *divinum*. Enchirid. p. 241.

P. 10, l. 1.—demonstrates the same thing,] Non est instituta *regeneratio*, nisi quia vitiosa est *generatio*, Ps. l. 7. August. Ench. c. 46, p. 214, tom. vi. Regeneratio spiritualis una est, sicut generatio carnalis una est. Augustin. in Joh. tr. xii.

Baptismi finis est, ut signet et obsignet spiritualem *nativitatem* nostram, sive *insitionem* in Christum et *receptionem* in familiam ejus. Hoc in altero Sacramento, hoc est, cœna, locum non habet, quia hæc est signum et sigillum non *regenerationis*, sed *nutritionis* ac *alimoniæ* spiritualis; non fœderis initi, sed continuati.—Semel per baptismum nascimur, sed sæpe per cœnam nutrimur. Voss. t. vi. 320.

—— †] Ad. Pelag. l. iv. c. xi. p. 490, tom. x. Wall Inf. Bapt. part 1, p. 71. Defence, Append. p. 14.

—— ‡] Augustin de Civit Dei, l. xx. c. 5, p. 577.—Tom. vii. c. 6. p. 580.—Tom. x. 540, 541.

P. 11, *] Gataker Adversaria, p. 336.—Peccata quæ male agendo postea committuntur, possent et *pœnitendo* sanari, sicut etiam post baptismum videmus. August. Enchirid. c. 46, p. 214, tom. vi.

—— §] So the word *baptism*, in ancient Church-writers, often signifies a *baptismal state*, a *permanent* privilege, or quality, or character, though baptism is but *once*, and admits no *second*.

Because that pious disposition is what he is indispensibly *obliged to* arrive to; and what by his very profession he is *supposed* to have already in some measure attained; and what the generality of Christians, in the primitive and purest times, *actually did* possess: therefore, a man's being "*born of God*" signifies, in Scripture phrase, the same as being a *true and sincere Christian;* and "Whosoever is born of God," is as much as if the apostle had said, Whoever pretends to be a good

Christian. Clarke's Serm. vol. ix. p. 327. So "Whosoever is *baptized* into Christ, *has put* on Christ." Gal. iii. 27. And "How *shall we, that are dead to sin, live any longer therein?*" Rom. vi. 2.

P. 11, l. penult.—so the phrase,] So the word baptism is often used for *baptismal state*, as when a man is said to retain *his baptism*, or to retain it *entire*. Concil. Eliber.

P. 12, l. 8.—*justify* himself,] *Regeneration* seems to differ from *justification*, as the *first act* from the *continuation* of the same; or as *creation* from *conservation*. Note, that *justification* and *remission* are things *permanent* and *encreasing*; are *continued* acts. Bull, 437, 438.

—— l. penult.] The *grants* themselves are *continued* acts: but still *regeneration* is a name for the *first* conferring, or *first* reception of them.

P. 13, l. 11.—*integral* parts;] Chrism was thus an *integral* part of baptism, though not absolutely *essential* to it. Bingh. vol. iv. p. 374.

—— l. 20.] And therefore ἀναχάινωσις, or ἀναχαίνισις is used sometimes for *regeneration*. See Suicer, t. i. p. 275.

P. 14, l. 8.—*preventing* grace.] Philip. ii. 13; Ephes. ii. 3, 4; 2 Tim. i. 9; Tit. iii. 5; John xv. 6.

—— N. †—*Cornelio*.] Aug. t. ix. 85, 138, 139, 140.

Confer de Bapt. Aug. l. iv. c. 24, p. 140, tom. ix. et super. Levit. Q, 84.

Chrysost: in Joh. Hom. xxv. p. 146, tom. viii.
Oecumen. in Act. x. 48.
Cyprian. Epist. lxxii. p. 128.
Anonymus de Rebapt. p. 356.
Hieronym. ad Heliodor. Ep. 5, p. 11, tom. iv.
Bull Examen ad Animadv. v. p. 16.

P. 16, N. §§] Eph. ii. 10.

P. 17, ‡] Georgius Abbot. A.D. 1597. Apud Voss. tom. vi. p. 229. " Baptizari etenim est quasi in Ecclesiam *generari*: et ut nil sæpius quam *semel* generatur; ita decenter institutum fuit, ut nemo sæpius quam *semel* baptizaretur."

P. 18, l. 1.—*regeneration*, &c.] One is the *receiving* life; the other is part of the *nutrition*, or a *condition* of it.—One is both of *body* and *soul*; the other of the *soul* only.—One the act of God *towards* us; the other the act of God *in* us.

P. 18, l. 18.—*regenerating act.*] Regeneratio illa est opus divinæ *gratiæ*, quia nec præcedentia nec sequentia *merita* nostra respicit, sed *gratis* propter Christum nobis contingit.

Quemadmodum nemo quippiam confert ut *generetur*, ita quoque ad spiritualem *regenerationem* nihil quicquam ex penu *nostrarum virium* conferre possumus. Cum hac *regeneratione* conjuncta est *renovatio*, per quam *natura* nostra incipit legi divinæ *conformari*. Sed propter illas *novas qualitates* non *regeneramur*, &c. quin potius requiritur, ut prius per fidem in Christum mediatorem *Deo reconciliemur*, per Spiritum sanctum *regeneremur*, et *ex gratia*, propter Christum, accipiamus υιοθεσιαν, antequam in operibus *bonis* ambulare possimus. *Gerhard* Loc. comm. tom. iii. 456.

P. 19, l. 13.—Christian life.] Meminisse debemus tantummodo peccatorum omnium plenam perfectamque remissionem *baptismo* fieri; hominis vero ipsius *qualitatem* non totam continuo commutari, &c. Augustin de peccat. meritis, l. ii. c. 27, p. 64, tom. x.

P. 20, N. *] Voss. Hist. Pelag. l. vi. Thes. xi. p. 746, tom. vi.

—— N. †] Gratia Dei non solum reatus omnium præteritorum solvitur in omnibus qui baptizantur *in Christo*, quod fit *Spiritu regenerationis*; verum etiam in grandibus *voluntas* ipsa

sanatur, et præparatur a Domino, quod fit *spiritu fidei et charitatis*. Augustin Retract. l. 1. c. 13, p. 20, tom. i. edit. Bened.

P. 21, l. 13.] Not compleat as to its *ends* and *uses;* therefore not *compleat* as to that *larger* notion of it, which *takes in* the ends and uses.

As faith without works is a dead faith, so regeneration in an adult is a kind of dead or dormant regeneration: but yet, as faith is faith, though works do not follow, so is regeneration, regeneration. And as faith, in its precise notion, does not mean *faith* and *works* both, so neither does regeneration, in its precise notion, signify both *regeneration* and *renovation*. As faith is *perfected* by works, so is regeneration *perfected* by renovation.

P. 23, l. 4.—special cases.] Three ways the Spirit might be given.

1. *Aquam* præstare *Spiritum* solitum.
2. Et *sanguinem* proprium, hominibus præstare *Spiritum* solitum.
3. Et ipsum quoque *Spiritum* præstare *Spiritum* solitum.—Anonym. de Rebapt. p. 364, ed. Bened.

—— l. 9.—*sign.*] *Regeneration* was *prior* to baptism under the *patriarchal* and *legal* states, and was therefore *independent* of the *sign* of water *then*, and may be *now*. See Aug. Enchirid. c. 119, p. 241. De Bapt. l. iv. c. 24, p. 140, tom. ix.

In Cornelio præcessit *sanctificatio* spiritualis in dono *Spiritus* sancti, et accessit *sacramentum* regenerationis in lavacro baptismi. August. ibid.

P. 25, N. *] Ipsum est quod in nobis celebratur *magnum* baptismatis *sacramentum*, ut quicunque ad istam pertinent gratiam, *moriantur peccato*, sicut Ipse *peccato mortuus* dicitur, quia mortuus est carni, hoc est, peccati similitudini; et vivant a lavacro *renascendo*, sicut Ipse a sepulcro resurgendo, quamlibet

corporis ætatem gerant. August. Enchirid. c. 42, p. 213, tom. vi. Ideo enim quisque *renascitur*, ut solvatur in eo quicquid *peccati* est cum quo nascitur. Ibid. 214. Confer. Aug. Retract. l. i. c. 13, p. 20, tom. i. Edit. Bened. cited above.

P. 26, N. †] A parvulo enim *recens nato* usque ad decrepitum senem, sicut nullus est prohibendus a *baptismo*, ita nullus est qui non *peccato* moriatur in baptismo: sed parvuli tantum *originali*, majores autem iis omnibus *moriuntur peccatis* quæcunque male vivendo addiderunt ad illud quod nascendo traxerunt. August. Enchirid. c. 43, p. 213, tom. vi.

P. 29, l. 1.—*entire*] Uti olim in *circumcisione* ita nunc in *baptismo*: Deus quidem promittit *gratiam*, et *vitam æternam*, homo autem *fidem* et *obedientiam*. Quod si a pacto resiliat homo, amittit ille quidem *jus postulandi* vitam æternam: at qui semper pacto stat, Deus, non perdit *jus suum* in hominem. Atqui baptismus additur fœderi *ex parte Dei;* si igitur non ex parte Dei, sed hominis, rumpitur fœdus, nihil attinet repeti, quod ex parte Dei [baptismus] obsignabat, sed duntaxat opus est ut homo *per pœnitentiam* redeat ad Deum, quo percipiat fœderis in baptismo *initi* fructum.

Nempe, hic res se habet ut in *matrimonio*. Quemadmodum enim *maritus* si uxorem *adulteram* retinere volet, non eam novo se copulat *matrimonio*, sed ad prius revocat fœdus; similiter *Deus* spiritualiter *fornicantes* ad *conjugii* spiritualis *semel* initi fœdus redire item jubet. Vossius, tom. vi. 320.

P. 30, l. 8.—*water* only] Certe qui nascuntur ex *aqua* et *Spiritu sancto*, non *aquæ filios* eos rite dixerit quisquam; sed planè dicuntur filii *Dei Patris*, et *matris* ecclesiæ. Aug. Enchirid. c. 39, p. 212. tom. vi.

—— N. *] *John*'s baptism was distinguished from *Christ*'s by this, that one was of *water* and the other of the *Spirit*. Acts i. 5; xi. 16. Conf. Anonym. de Rebapt. p. 354. See

August. tom. ix. p. 158; and see p. 169, where *Austin* says, *Simon ille Magus* natus erat ex *aqua* et *Spiritu*.

Christi baptismus est non in *aqua* tantum (sicut fuit *Johannis*) verum etiam in *Spiritu sancto*, ut de illo Spiritu *regeneraretur* quisquis in Christum *credit*, de quo Christus generatus regeneratione non eguit. August. Enchirid. c. 48, p. 214, tom. vi.

P. 31, N. †] Austin expressly allows the *Spirit* to be given in some part, or in some sense, in all *true* baptism. Tom. ix. 116, 117. And p. 169 he is express that *Simon Magus* was born of the *Spirit*.

P. 32, l. 17.—bad] Vid. Austin, tom. ix. p. 117.

P. 33, l. 2.—disqualifications] They are therefore *born of the Spirit*, only not *salutarily* born. Vid. Aust. tom. ix. 169.

—— N. *] Conf. August. tom. ix. p. 86, 87, 88, 89, 117, 133.

Simon ille *Magus* natus erat ex *aqua* et *Spiritu*, et tamen non intravit in regnum cœlorum, p. 169. A. D. 400. Conf. p. 157, 158.

Simon ille de Actibus Apostolorum acceperat *lavacrum aquæ*, verum quia Spiritum non habebat, indutus non erat Christum. Hieronym. ad Galat. tom. iv. p. 214. A. D. 388.

Idem *Spiritus*, etiam super *indignos* quoque sui, nonnunquam invenietur esse: non utique *otiose*, nec *sine ratione*, sed *necessariæ* alicujus *operationis* gratiâ, sicut super *Saul* fuit, super quem factus est *Spiritus Dei*, et prophetavit. Anonym. de Rebaptismate. Inter opp. *Cypriani*, p. 364, ed. Bened. Compare St. Austin, p. 31 of Serm. Note.

Though Simon Magus was born of *water and the Spirit*, yet he was not born of God in the sense of 1 John iii. 9.

Qui *natus est ex Deo* habet *caritatem*. Ecce accepit sacramentum *nativitatis* homo *baptizatus*: sacramentum habet, et magnum sacramentum, divinum, sanctum, ineffabile. Consi-

dera quale: ut *novum hominem* faciat *demissione* omnium peccatorum. Attendat tamen *in cor*, si perfectum est ibi, quod factum est *in corpore*. Videat si habet *caritatem*, et tunc dicat, *natus sum ex Deo*. Habeat *caritatem*: aliter, non se dicat, *natum ex Deo*. Sed habeo, inquit, sacramentum. Audi Apostolorum, 2 Cor. xiii. 2. August. tom. iii. par. 2, p. 859. A. D. 416.

P. 33. l. ult.—wanting] Vid. August. de Bapt. l. 1, c. 10, p. 87, 88, tom. ix. Conf. 79, 81, 91, 121, 145, 169, 419, 427, 447, 620.

P. 36, l. 4.—*Jezabel*] Buddei Eccles. Apost. p. 401.

—— N. §] Bishop Smalbroke's Answer to Quakers, p. 183.

P. 37, l. 13.—Galatians] Vid. Hieron. in loco, p. 278, tom. iv.

—— N. *] Calv. Inst. l. iv. c. 16, et Comm. in loco.
Chamier, tom. iv. l. 5, c. 9.
Gomarus, opp. par. i. 261.
Maresius, p. 456.
Episcopius Dilemm. pontific. p. 159.
Schlictingius in loco.
Wolzogenius in loco.
Hoornbeckius Theol. Pract. l. ix. c. 22.
Grotius in loco.
Hottingerus Thes. p. 246.
Cocceius, tom. iv. 90.
Vid. Ittigii Exercit Theol. p. 80.

P. 40, l. 16.] St. Saulien's confession to Mrs. Bourignon. Abridgment of her life, p. 285. Conf. p. 238; and on *Solid* Virtue, part i. p. 86. He told her, he was not what he had appeared to be; that, having from his youth a *haughty* mind, he desired to *distinguish* himself from the people; which, since he could not do by *birth* or *wealth*, he resolved to put on the appearance of *virtue* and *piety*, as being *more esteemed*, which

made him practise outward works of *mortification* and *devotion*; that he learned to speak after so *sublime* a manner of *inward* things, by reading carefully *spiritual* books, and observing *her* words, sentiments, and way of behaviour; that the first time he saw her on the street, he was struck with *love* of her; and all he had done or said since was to insinuate himself into *her friendship*, and to enjoy her, by *love* or *force*, which he was resolved upon, though he should hang for it.

P. 40, N. *, 1st parag.] Conf. Buddeus Eccles. Apost. p. 325.

P. 41, 3d parag.] Cum—*falsa* dixisse deprehenderetur —ausus ejus *sacrilegos* fuisse, satis emineret, cum ea non solum *ignorata*, sed etiam *falsa*, tam *vesana* superbiæ vanitati diceret, ut ea tamquam *divinæ* personæ tribuere sibi niteretur.——— In illo autem qui *doctor*, qui *auctor*, qui *dux*, et *princeps* eorum, quibus illa suaderet ita fieri ausus est, ut qui eum sequerentur, non quemlibet *hominem* sed *Spiritum* tuum *sanctum* se sequi arbitrarentur; quis tantam *dementiam* (sicubi falsa dixisse convinceretur) non *detestandam*, longeque abjiciendam esse judicaret? August. ibid. p. 111.

——— 5th parag.] Dr. Hammond, in the year 1654, says of it, "The opinion that of late begins to diffuse itself among some." Fundament. opp. tom. iv. p. 317.

P. 43, l. 14.—own breasts] Every one will have a familiar spirit of his own to teach him. Laney's Sermon on Comprehension. Gal. vi. 7, 8. A. D. 1675. P. 14.

"Here is no place in the text (Rom. viii. 16) for private *revelations*, and I wish they had none amongst us; for under *colour* of them, every man will have a *private spirit*, though of his own making. Any vain *dream* or *imagination*, nay, any *wicked* or *devilish* suggestion, shall be an *impulse* of God's *Spirit*: it were happy for this kingdom and church if we could lay these *familiar* spirits: no *schism* in the church, no *mischiefs* in the commonwealth, no *rebellious* practice which was not carried

on by the *conduct* and *impulse* of these *spirits*. Thus by them they *trouble* the world, *deceive* simple men, and *work despite* to the *Spirit* of God." Laney, p. 17.

P. 44, l. 21.—*Spirit*] To believe it a *divine* inspiration, and so not *controulable* by scripture; this is to be *mad*, to be given up to all *delusion*, to surrender our *hearts* as a *blank table* for the *Devil* to write what he pleases upon, and to pass it as the engravings of the finger of God. And if there be no *light*, (i. e.) no *understanding* in us, but what is *divine*, we must think every thing *divine* that is written there; and then we are sealed up in *error*, from which there can be no returning, &c. See below, p. 77.

P. 45, N. *. 3rd paragraph, l. 6.—pretended principle] Which, when any man comes to be persuaded are the immediate dictates of the Holy Ghost, then is his *madness* in perfection. The Quakers have never yet been able to give us any *mark*, or *rule*, or *shew* of *reason* that they do not thus mistake all their own *wild imaginations* for the *inspiration* of God. That *assurance* does always accompany every error; for no man can be in any error who does not think himself to be in the right, else he were not in an *error*, but a wilful obstinacy, if he persisted in it after he knew it to be an error. Leslie, vol. ii. 262.

P. 48, N. §—Simonians] Vid. Buddeus Eccles. Apost. p. 355.

—— *good works*] Si ergo per hæc *miracula* non fiat modò *testimonium* præsentiæ Spiritûs Sancti; unde fit, unde cognoscit quisque accepisse se Spiritum Sanctum? Interroget *cor suum;* si diligit fratrem, manet *Spiritus Dei* in illo. Videat si est in illo dilectio *pacis* et *unitatis*—dilectio *Ecclesiæ* toto terrarum orbe diffusæ.—Ergo, si vis nosse quia accepisti *Spiritum*, interroga cor tuum; ne forte *sacramentum* habes, et *virtutem* sacramenti non habes. August. tom. iii. par. 2, p. 868.

So also the Valentinians, Bull, 531.

Whitby's Preface to the first Epistle of John, p. 747.

P. 50, l. 4.—minds] When men talk so much of the *Spirit*, if they take notice what they ordinarily *mean* by it, it is nothing else but a strong *impetuous motion*, whereby they are zealously and fervently carried in matters of religion; so that fervour, zeal, and spirit are all one. Henry More, p. 16.

—— l. 16] *Judas* and *Ananias* had *impulses* upon them to do evil; therefore there is no trusting to *impulses*, barely considered *as such*. *Judas* and *Ananias* might have *good meanings* along with their impulses (for *false colours* are easily laid upon any wickedness whatever); therefore there is no trusting to *impulses* and *good meanings* jointly considered, much less to bare impulses considered by themselves, however strong or impetuous.

P. 51, N. *] Compare Mrs. Bourignon's Warning against Quakers, Pref. p. ix.—xix. c. 17.

—— l. 5.—*good meanings*] He might have been made to think that he had not so *absolutely* dedicated all to God, as not to have reserved a liberty to himself of *second* thoughts: he might design what he reserved for *pious* uses, being willing still to have it in his power to do acts of *munificence*. As it was an *heroic* act, a kind of *supererogation*, to leave himself *no private property*, he might conceive that he had more liberty in such a case than in a point of strict duty. He was, no doubt, a *very pious*, *zealous* man; but yet he had a mind to have the *credit* of greater piety than he really had.

P. 53, N. †] Compare Leslie, vol. ii. p. 262.

P. 54, l. 8.—*Spirit*] See Homily for Whitsunday, and Church on Regeneration, p. 42.

—— N. *] See Laney on Gal. vi. 7, 8; p. 15.

To clear our understanding by removing *pride* and *prejudice*

that obscure it, to inflame us with a *true love* of truth; not to *dictate* or reveal any thing which is not such in the gospel, as well by the eyes of others as our own.

Testimonium illud *internum* non est *testimonium* proprie dictum, quasi Spiritus sanctus cuiquam proprie *revelaret* speciatim, hoc vel illud *dogma* esse *verum*, ut ita illud cognoscat ex *duplici* revelatione, quorum altera est *externa* in verbo Dei, altera *interna* quam quilibet accipiat *immediate* a Deo, non secus ac prophetæ divinitùs *inspirati*. Hic enim esset purus putus *Enthusiasmus*, quem theologi omnes hîc uno ore rejiciunt. Quæ igitur hac in re partes sunt Spiritûs Sancti? Audivimus ab initio rationes credendi *tales* esse ut in corde *ritè disposito*, fidem producant. Hæc vero *cordis dispositio* est gratiæ Dei et Spiritus Sancti: unde petenda ab eo assiduis precibus, &c. Werenfels. tom. ii. Lect. Hermeneut. p. 334.

P. 54, N. †. See Norris on Humil. p. 259.

P. 55, l. 2.—*Pharisee*] Jam sciens homo gratiâ Dei se esse quod est, non incidat in alium *superbiæ laqueum*, ut de *ipsa* Dei *gratia* se extollendo *spernat* cæteros. Quo vitio alius ille Pharisæus, et de bonis quæ habebat Deo *gratias* agebat, et tam se super *publicanum* peccata confitentem extollebat. August. de S. Virginitate, c. 43, p. 363, tom. vi. See Norris's Humility, 127, 129, 130, 174. Bull, Posth. vol. ii. p. 209.

—— l. 19.—Christianity] It is an unaccountable perverseness and madness to turn that into matter of *pride* and *vain glory* which was intended for the purposes of *humility;* as also to turn the fear and love of God, which are the *checks* and *restraints*, into *incentives* to iniquitous proceedings; as also to turn *preservatives* into *snares*, and *food* into *poison;* so as to leave no possibility of cure without a *miracle*. More hopes of an *atheist* than of an *enthusiast*.

P. 59, l. 9.—*immediate* revelation] Quotus enim quisque

nostrûm per revelationem Christi didicit et non homine prædicante cognovit. Hieron. ad Gal. i. 1, tom. iv. p. 230.

—— l. 15.—*delusions*] See Leslie, vol. ii. p. 262.

There can be no returning while we keep in that principle. The scriptures can be no reproof or check upon us while we think that what we call *light* within is *superior* to the scriptures, and by which the scriptures themselves were given forth. And *reason*, which is *human*, and as these men term it *carnal*, can never be admitted by them to rectify what they think *divine*; so that all *avenues* are stopped to their recovery. This is the most *dreadful* condition that any man can be supposed to be in; it is *desperate* to every thing but a *miracle:* therefore you see what reason we have to remove men from this principle. Ibid. Comp. Bourignon's Warnings against Quakers. Pref. p. ix. p. 334.

P. 60, l. 7.—*godly*] See Leslie, Pref. p. ii. Church. Pref. p. iv.

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No. II.

THE

CHURCHMAN'S REMEMBRANCER:

BEING A

COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE AND VALUABLE TRACTS

IN DEFENCE OF THE

DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE

OF THE

Church of England.

Enquire, I pray thee, of the former age, and prepare thyself to the search of their fathers: For we are but of yesterday, and know nothing.—Job. viii. 8, 9.

Ο παλαιος χρηστοτερος εστιν. Luc. v. 39.

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ADVERTISEMENT from the EDITORS.

The great encouragement which the editors of Dr. Waterland's Sermon on Regeneration have received from the rapid sale of that valuable discourse, has induced them to prosecute the work of which that was put forth as a specimen, and to engage to republish every three or four months some scarce and valuable treatise of a similar tendency, hoping by this means to lead many into *the old paths, the good way, wherein if they will walk*, they have the warranty of Scripture that *they shall find rest for their souls.*

T. CURSON HANSARD, PRINTER, PETERBOROUGH COURT, FLEET-STREET.

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

XVIIth ARTICLE,

OF

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND:

WHEREIN

THE SENTIMENTS OF THE COMPILERS,

AND OTHER CONTEMPORARY REFORMERS,

ON THE SUBJECT OF THE DIVINE DECREES,

Are fully deduced from their own Writings.

TO WHICH IS SUBJOINED,

A SHORT TRACT,

ASCERTAINING

The Reign and Time in which the Royal Declaration before the XXXIX Articles was first published.

By the Rev. T. WINCHESTER, D.D.

LATE RECTOR OF APPLETON.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH EMENDATIONS FROM THE AUTHOR'S CORRECTED COPY, AND THE ADDITION OF A BIOGRAPHICAL PREFACE.

1808.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Editors of the CHURCHMAN'S REMEMBRANCER are here happy to introduce to the Public Dr. Winchester's admirable Treatise on the XVII. Article: a work now known to very few, and not procurable for money: the design of which is to prove that, our Reformers were not Calvinists, by the same mode of argument as that by which Dr. Kipling has, very recently, demonstrated that our Liturgy and Articles are not Calvinistic: and such is its execution, that excepting those " predestined never to be convinced," it will doubtless be considered by all its readers " as decisive" upon the point in question, " and as setting it at rest for ever."

And it is a very important point indeed which is here settled: for though upon the supposition that our Reformers had entertained Calvin's peculiarities, it would not of necessity follow that they

framed our Articles after the model of Geneva, because they professed to set forth in them not their own view of Christianity, but that exemplified in Scripture as interpreted by the fathers of the first three centuries, in whom nothing like Calvinism will be found; yet no conclusion is less liable to exception than the one opposite to this, deducible from the converse of this proposition: for Calvinian articles could never be produced by those who were not themselves Calvinists.

Mr. Overton, indeed, the great champion of Calvinism in this our Church's day of rebuke, does not scruple to allow himself in a little contradiction for the promotion of the good old cause, though at one time he endeavours to wrest the authority of our Reformers to his purpose, yet at another rejects it as if they were scarce sufficiently purified from the leaven of popery, and discovers at all times his inclination to remove his foundation from them to the resettlers of our Church after Queen Mary's persecution, and thus to throw into the back ground, as a matter of not much moment, what were their sentiments upon the disputed points. But as Dr. Heylin well remarks,

marks, " the five articles touching the doctrine of the Church in those points were left by these resettlers in the same state in which they found them, and being so left are to be taken in the same sense in which they had been understood at the first making of them." So that this shifting of his ground serves Mr. Overton's purpose not at all. The station he has deserted is that in which he must make his stand. Our REFORMERS must be his chief corner stone; he must shew *them* to have been Calvinists, or the mighty fabric he has reared must totter to its foundations; and in vain will he attempt this, until he has invalidated every particular of that vast body of evidence collected by Dr. Winchester; a work in which it is not apprehended he will have the hardihood to engage, particularly as the learned Dr. Whitaker, that zealous champion of Calvinism in Queen Elizabeth's reign, most explicitly acknowledges in a letter to Archbishop Whitgift, that the points, meaning the Calvinistic points which then began to be so warmly debated at Cambridge, " were not concluded and defined by public authority."*

* Strype's Life of Archbishop Whitgift, App. B. 4. P. 199.

With these remarks, designed to arrest and fix the attention of the public on the question investigated in the following Treatise, the Editors conclude, referring their readers to the Biographical Preface for some account of the author, and of his motive for engaging in the work; for which their best acknowledgments are due to the Rev. R. Churton, who obligingly drew up, at their request, this interesting memorial, and supplied them moreover with Dr. Winchester's own emendations of the text, by which this edition is corrected.

BIOGRAPHICAL PREFACE.

THE best introduction, perhaps, to the following Tract, will be a short account of the author. He was born at Farringdon, in the county of Berks, his father being a reputable surgeon of that place. He had an elder brother, John, who was an eminent surgeon in Norfolk-street, London; but on the accession of a considerable estate in Kent, bequeathed to him for life, he declined business; and died, aged 72, at Nethersole House, near Canterbury, in July 1781.* The younger brother, Thomas, was educated at Magdalen college, Oxford, as a chorister and demy; proceeded M. A. Jan. 14, 1735-6; B. D. Dec. 16, 1747; D. D. July 4, 1749. In July 1747 he was elected fellow, having been for some years before, as he was afterwards, a considerable tutor in the college; where, among others, the ingenious Mr. Lovibond was one of his pupils. In 1761 he resigned his fellowship, having

* See Gent. Mag. for that year, p. 394.

been

been presented by the society to the rectory of Appleton, Berks, at a small distance from his native place; and in the same year, June 10, he married Lucretia Townson, sister of Thomas Townson, rector of Malpas, Cheshire, who had also been fellow of Magdalen college. She died at Appleton, greatly esteemed and lamented, Jan. 26, 1772. Five years afterwards, July 24, 1777, he married Jennett, widow of his fellow-collegian, Richard Lluellyn, B. D. and sister of Thomas Lewis, Esquire, of Frederick's Place, London, one of the Directors (1803) of the Bank of England.

The rude attack made upon the Church of England by the author of the Confessional, and, about the same time, by the author of Pietas Oxoniensis, could not be disregarded by one so steadily attached to that Church as Dr. Winchester; and his remarks on those productions, though he did not publish any thing on the occasion in his own name, were serviceable to his friends, and to the cause of truth. In Dr. Nowell's Answer to Pietas Oxoniensis, 2d edition, 1769, Dr. Winchester is the "very judicious friend," mentioned in the note, p. 106, as "well acquainted with the several editions of the Bible and the occasions of them;" and he there shews, that the "questions and answers concerning predestination,

destination," which are inserted in some editions of the Geneva Bible,* and were said by the author of Pietas Oxoniensis to have been "*always* printed at the end of the Old Testament, and bound up with this authorized translation of the Bible (meaning the Bishops' Bible), till about the year 1615," were probably "*never* bound up with that Bible; nor indeed could they with any consistency appear there; for Archbishop Parker, the great promoter of this translation, in his preface asserts the direct opposite to the third question and answer," namely, universal redemption: "Search the scriptures, &c. (John v. 39.) *No man, woman, or chylde, is excluded from this salvation*, and therefore to every of them is this spoken."

Dr. Winchester's Address to the author of the Confessional may be seen in Gent. Mag. 1767,

* By a paper of Dr. Winchester's, now in my hands, on this subject, he appears to have examined fourteen editions of the Geneva Bible, from 1560 to 1616: of which not more than three or four (one of them being imperfect), had these questions and answers; and four editions of the Bishops' Bible, *none* of which had them; and he observes in Nowell (loc. cicat.) that Lewis (Hist. of Transl. of Bible, p. 235—264.) mentions eight editions of the Bishops' Bible, and takes no notice of these questions being printed with them, though he is very particular in giving the contents of them and takes particular notice when they were inserted (1583) in the Geneva Bible.

p. 581—584; his remarks on the last edition of the Confessional in Gent. Mag. for 1770, p. 514, 515; and in that for 1775, p. 161, his strictures on the Archdeacon of Cleveland's Four Discourses delivered to the Clergy of the Archdeaconry; and in p. 217. 269. 471, his defence of Archbishop Secker, Dr. Glocester Ridley, and Dr. Maclaine In which useful repository more of the doctor's papers may perhaps be found.

Other remarks, connected with these controversies, having been communicated to his friend John Loveday of Caversham, Esquire, and by him to Archbishop Secker, his Grace, on being informed who was the author of them, commenced a correspondence with him. Some of the papers, thus transmitted to Lambeth, were those concerning the author of the Declaration before the XXXIX Articles; on which the Archbishop, in a letter to Dr. Winchester now before me, says, " Nothing can be wished more complete and convincing, and satisfactory. I shall presume on your leave to send them to Dr. Ridley, the author of the Letters, &c." This was accordingly done; and when Dr. Ridley had finished his work, he requested Dr. Winchester's " acceptance" of a copy of it, in acknowledgment of many favours received from him in the course of his late engagement with the author of the Confessional,

fessional, communicated to him by his Grace of Canterbury."

While he was examining the points thus brought into discussion, if not before, it occurred to him, that it " might be more fully evinced," than had then been done, " from the works of our Reformers, that our articles were not drawn up in a Calvinistical sense, which the author of the Confessional, as well as the Arians before him, so strenuously contended for."* And he " had at that time " marked down" some of the principal passages, which he afterwards made use of in his dissertation. It was published, but without his name, in April 1773.

It was, I think, about the year 1776, that the celebrated Dean of Gloucester printed a specimen of his intended Treatise concerning Civil Government, with a " view to consult the learned and judicious on the nature of the undertaking, and to entreat the benefit of their corrections and amendments."† One of the copies of this specimen coming into Dr. Winchester's hands was returned with certain strictures, with which the

* Letter to Archbishop Secker, March 14, 1768. penes J. Loveday.

† Tucker an Civil Government, 1781, p. 367.

learned

learned Dean was so highly pleased, that he waited on Dr. Winchester, with whom he was not previously acquainted, to make his personal acknowledgments for the favour; and it was chiefly owing to the suggestions from Appleton, that the judicious Hooker, " one of the best reasoners in the world," appears in his true character in the work on Civil Government, and not as the author had at first too hastily " taken for granted"* he was, favourable to the notions espoused by Mr. Locke.

Dr. Winchester was a warm, steady and most valuable friend; and enjoyed the friendship of many that did him honour, the late Lord Bagot, and his father, Bishop Bagot, Sir William Blackstone, and others. His talents, if not splendid, were sound and good, his attainments various and useful; and he was a true son of the Church of England. He resided constantly on his living; where by his preaching and example, he brought to conformity some of the very few dissenters in his parish. He took a most cordial interest in the temporal and spiritual concerns of his parishioners; and, having studied anatomy and being well skilled in medicine, he was, according to the pattern of the excellent Mr. Her-

* Tucker on Civil Government, 1781, p 402.

bert's

bert's Country Parson, physician of the body as well as the soul, to his flock. To the sincere and lasting regret of all who knew him, he was seized with a paralytic stroke May 12, 1780, died on the 17th of that month, and was buried in the chancel of his own church, near the remains of his wife. His only preferment, besides the rectory of Appleton, was the curacy of Astley Chapel, near Arbury, Warwickshire, a donative given him by his esteemed friend Sir Roger Newdigate, Baronet. His large and valuable library of books, of which a catalogue was published soon after his death, was purchased by T. Payne, of the Mews-gate, and formed a part of one of his extensive catalogues.

Of the Dissertation on the XVIIth Article little needs be said. It has been long out of print, and much sought after by divines and others. It is now reprinted with the author's own corrections, carefully transcribed from his revised copy in the hands of John Loveday, D. C. L. of Williamscot, near Banbury, who was one of his executors. With regard to the Calvinistic points, as they are called, it will readily be granted, that they are some of those deep things, which the human understanding cannot fathom: but if, notwithstanding universal redemption is asserted as explicitly as words can express

express it in the XXXIst Article, it is still contended, as an historical fact, that the compilers of our articles were Calvinists, and consequently framed the articles in a Calvinistic sense, on this head it should seem to be no difficult matter to *silence* any honest adversary. A conscientious clergyman of predestinarian principles once observed to Dr. Townson, that "our Reformers in general were Calvinists?" upon which he asked him, "What think you then of Bishop Latimer, who says, Christ shed as much blood for Judas as he did for Peter," shewing him the words as quoted in the Dissertation, p. 66, which had then not long been published. He read the passage, and closed the book, without so much as looking at the title of it, or saying one syllable more on the subject! He probably had not read, and if he had, I hope he would have disdained to adopt, the comment of Augustus Toplady on the passage: "Christ shed as much blood for Judas as for Peter; *not that Christ actually died for Judas* whose death was *prior* to that of Christ himself), but that the mediator's blood was as much *sufficient* (so infinite was its value) to have redeemed even Judas, *had it been shed for that purpose*, as to have redeemed any other person."* In this curious note, to pass

* Topl. Historic Proof. 1st ed. Vol. i. p. 315. n.

by

by the doubtful fact repeated from the author's text, "that Judas slew himself *antecedently* to the actual crucifixion of Christ," and the inference built upon it, that therefore Christ did not die for Judas, which would equally prove that Christ did not die for the patriarchs, who consequently were saved without a Redeemer; to pass over these points, I would only observe, that if this champion of Calvinism was so blinded with prejudice, as to *think* that he here gave the real meaning of the plain words of Bishop Latimer, it is in vain to argue with him; and if he deliberately wrote what he was sure *could not possibly be true*, he does not deserve an answer.

R. CHURTON.

Middleton, near Banbury,
April 19, 1803.

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N. B. *The numbers in the margin of page 20, &c. (answering to those in the text) are intended for the more easy comparison of the several members of the Definition of Predestination, with the parts of scripture, in the opposite page, corresponding to them.*

A

DISSERTATION

ON THE

XVII^th ARTICLE.

THE design of the ensuing dissertation, is to prove that the Seventeenth Article of the Church of England, which treats of Predestination, was not drawn up by the compilers of our Articles conformable to the doctrine of Calvin on this subject. In prosecuting this enquiry, it is intended to confine it to the sense of our Reformers in the reign of Edward VI. To proceed further, into that of Elizabeth, would only be to discover that many of our Divines, during their exile under Queen Mary, were strongly tinctured with Calvin's doctrines; which occasioned at length great disputes at

Cambridge in the year 1595. They who maintain that the Article is Calvinistical have generally chosen to fix upon this * latter period. But the evidence drawn from those times, whatever it may amount to, cannot be equal to that which arises from the apparent sentiments and design of the compilers themselves, and their contemporaries.

I.

THE FIRST THING REQUISITE IN THIS DISQUISITION, IS, TO STATE AT LARGE CALVIN'S OPINIONS ON THIS HEAD.

The parts of his works chiefly made use of, are, his Institutions and his Epistles. In the former he treats the subject systematically; in the latter he occasionally pursues the same, and opens his sentiments more fully.

" Prædestinationem vocamus æternum Dei " decretum, quo apud se constitutum habuit " quid de unoquoque homine fieri vellet. Non

* Dr. Waterland, in the SUPPLEMENT TO THE CASE OF ARIAN SUBSCRIPTION, has considered, in a masterly way, the Disputes on this subject, which happened in the reigns of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I.

" enim

" enim pari conditione creantur omnes: sed alijs
" vita æterna, alijs damnatio æterna præordina-
" tur. Itaque prout in alterutrum finem quisque
" conditus est, ita vel ad vitam vel ad mortem
" prædestinatum dicimus. Hanc verò Deus
" non modò in singulis personis testatus est,
" sed specimen ejus in totâ Abrahæ sobole edi-
" dit, unde palam fieret, in ejus arbitrio esse
" qualis cujusque gentis futura sit conditio."

Calvini Institutio, Lib. iii. cap. 21. sect. 5.

Again, sect. 7. — " Quod ergo scriptura
" clarè ostendit dicimus, æterno et immuta-
" bili consilio Deum semel constituisse quos
" olim semel assumere vellet in salutem, quos
" rursum exitio devovere. Hoc consilium
" quoad electos in gratuita ejus misericordia
" fundatum esse asserimus, nullo humanæ
" dignitatis respectu: quos verò damnationi
" addicit, his justo quidem et irreprehensibili,
" sed incomprehensibili ipsius judicio, vitæ
" aditum præcludi. Jam verò in electis vo-
" cationem statuimus electionis testimonium:
" Justificationem deinde, alterum ejus mani-
" festandæ symbolum, donec ad gloriam, in
" quâ ejus complementum extat, pervenitur.
" Quemadmodum vocatione et justificatione
" electos suos Dominus signat, ità reprobos
" vel à notitia sui nominis, vel à spiritus sui

 " sancti-

" sanctificatione excludendo, quale maneat
" eos judicium istis veluti notis aperit."

" Summa est, Deum gratuitâ adoptione
" creare quos vult habere filios: ejus verò in-
" trinsecam esse in ipso causam: quia arcano
" suo beneplacito contentus est."

Ib. Lib. iii. cap. 22. sect. 7.

" Nunc de reprobis, quos simul illic conjun-
" git Apostolus. Ut enim Jacob, nihildum
" bonis operibus promeritus, assumitur in gra-
" tiam: sic Esau, nullo adhuc scelere inquinatus,
" odio habetur. Si ad opera convertimus ocu-
" los, injuriam irrogamus Apostolo, quasi idip-
" sum quod nobis perspicuum est non viderit.
" Porro non vidisse convincitur, quando hoc
" nominatim urget, quum nihildum boni aut
" mali designassent, alterum electum, alterum
" rejectum: ut probet divinæ prædestinationis
" fundamentum in operibus non esse. Deinde
" ubi objectionem movet num iniquus sit Deus,
" illud quod certissimum et apertissimum fuisset
" justitiæ ejus patrocinium non usurpat, Deum
" rependisse Esau secundum suam malitiam:
" sed diversa solutione contentus est, quod in
" hunc finem excitentur reprobi ut Dei gloria
" per illos illustretur. Demum subnectit clau-
" sulam, DEUM CUJUS VULT MISERERI, ET QUEM

" VULT

" VULT INDURARE. Vides ut in solum Dei
" arbitrium utrumque conferat? Ergo si non
" possumus rationem assignare cur suos miseri-
" cordia dignetur, nisi quoniam ita illi placet:
" neque etiam in alijs reprobandis aliud habe-
" bimus quàm ejus voluntatem. Quum enim
" dicitur Deus vel indurare, vel misericordia
" prosequi quem voluerit, eo admonentur ho-
" mines nihil causæ quærere extra ejus volun-
" tatem."—Ib. Lib. iii. cap. 22. sect. 11.

Calvin's Comment on Rom. ix. 11. if possible, is still stronger.

" Ergo cujus vult miseretur.] Hîc sequitur
" conclusio utriusque membri: quæ in alterius
" quàm Apostoli persona accipi nullo modo
" potest: quia mox communicationem cum ad-
" versario attexit, ubi incipit proferre quæ ab
" adversâ parte objectari poterant. Itaque mi-
" nime dubium est, Paulum è suo ipsius sensu
" hæc loqui, quemadmodum paulo ante admo-
" nuimus, Deum scilicet pro arbitrio suo, quem
" visum illi fuerit, misericordia dignari: in quem-
" cunque libuerit judicij severitatem stringere.
" Hoc enim vult efficere apud nos, ut in ea
" quæ apparet inter electos et reprobos diver-
" sitate, mens nostra contenta sit, quod ita
" visum fuerit Deo, alios illuminare in salutem,

" alios

" alios in mortem excæcare: neque superio-
" rem causam ejus voluntate inquirat. Insistere
" enim debemus in istas particulas, CUJUS VULT,
" ET QUEM VULT: ultra quas procedere nobis
" non permittit. Cæterùm Indurandi verbum,
" quum Deo in Scripturis tribuitur, non solùm
" permissionem (ut volunt diluti quidam mode-
" ratores) sed divinæ quoque iræ actionem signi-
" ficat: nam res omnes externæ quæ ad excæ-
" cationem reproborum faciunt, illius iræ sunt
" instrumenta. Satan autem ipse, qui intus
" efficaciter agit, ita est ejus minister, ut non-
" nisi ejus imperio agat. Corruit ergo frivolum
" illud effugium quod de præscientia Scholastici
" habent. Neque enim prævideri ruinam im-
" piorum à Domino Paulus tradit, sed ejus con-
" silio et voluntate ordinari: quemadmodum et
" Solomo docet, non modo præcognitum fuisse
" impiorum interitum, sed impios ipsos fuisse
" destinató creatos ut perirent."

Proverbiorum xvi. 4.

" Iterum quæro, unde factum est ut tot gentes
" unà cum liberis eorum infantibus æternæ morti
" involveret lapsus Adæ absque remedio, nisi
" quia Deo ita visum est?—DECRETUM QUIDEM
" HORRIBILE, FATEOR: inficiari tamen nemo
" poterit quin præsciverit Deus quem exitum
" esset habiturus homo antequam ipsum con-
" deret;

" deret; et IDEO PRÆSCIVERIT QUIA DECRETO " SUO SIC ORDINARAT. In præscientiam Dei si- " quis hìc invehatur, temerè et inconsultè im- " pingit. Quid enim, quæso, est cur reus agatur " cælestis judex quia non ignoraverit quod futu- " rum erat? In prædestinationem competit si " quid est vel justæ vel speciosæ querimoniæ. " Nec absurdum videri debet quod dico, Deum " non modò primi hominis casum, et in eo pos- " terorum ruinam prævidisse: SED ARBITRIO " QUOQUE SUO DISPENSASSE: ut enim ad ejus sa- " pientiam pertinet omnium quæ futura sunt esse " præscium, sic ad potentiam, omnia manu sua " regere et moderari."

Calvini Inst. Lib. iii. cap. 23. sect 7.

" Quòd igitur sibi patefacto Dei verbo non " obtemperant reprobi, probè id in malitiam pra- " vitatemque cordis eorum rejicietur, modò si- " mul adjiciatur, IDEO IN HANC PRAVITATEM " ADDICTOS, QUIA JUSTO, ET INSCRUTABILI " DEI JUDICIO SUSCITATI SUNT, AD GLO- " RIAM EJUS SUA DAMNATIONE ILLUSTRAN- " DAM".—Ib. Lib. iii. cap. 24. sect. 14.

" Sed enim (inquies) si ita est, parum erit " fidei promissionibus evangelicis, quæ quum de " voluntate Dei testantur, eum velle asserunt " quod inviolabili ejus decreto adversetur—Mi-

" nimè

" nimè veró: quamlibet enim universales sint
" salutis promissiones, nihil tamen a reproborum
" prædestinatione discrepant: modò in earum
" effectum mentem dirigamus. Efficaces nobis
" tum esse demùm promissiones scimus ubi eas
" fide recipimus: ubi contrà exinanita est fides,
" simul abolita est promissio. Ea si est natura
" ipsarum, videamus jam nunquid inter se hæc
" dissideant, quòd dicitur ab æterno Deus ordi-
" nasse quos amore complecti, in quos iram ex-
" ercere velit: et quòd salutem omnibus indiscri-
" minatim denuntiat. Equidem dico optimè
" convenire: sic enim promittendo, nihil aliud
" vult quàm omnibus expositam esse suam mise-
" ricordiam, qui modò eam expetunt atque im-
" plorant: quod non alij faciunt nisi quos illu-
" minavit. Porrò illuminat quos prædestinavit
" ad salutem. His (inquam) constat certa et in-
" concussa promissionum veritas, ut dici nequeat
" aliquid esse dissensionis inter æternam Dei
" electionem, et quod fidelibus offert gratiæ suæ
" testimonium.—Sed cur OMNES nominat?—
" Nempè quò tutiùs piorum conscientiæ acqui-
" escant, dum intelligunt nullam esse peccato-
" rum differentiam, modò adsit fides: impij au-
" tem non causentur sibi deesse asylum, quò se
" a peccati servitute recipiant, dum oblatum
" sibi ingratitudine suà respuunt. Ergo quum
" utrisque Dei misericordia per Evangelium
" offeratur,

" offeratur, fides est, hoc est, Dei illuminatio,
" quæ inter pios et impios distinguit: ut evan-
" gelij efficaciam illi sentiant, hi verò nullum
" indè fructum consequantur. Illuminatio quo-
" que ipsa electionem Dei æternam pro regula
" habet."—Ib. Lib. iii. Cap. 24. Sect. 17.

" Multi quidem, acsi invidiam a Deo re-
" pellere vellent, electionem ità fatentur ut ne-
" gent quenquam reprobrari: sed inscitè nimis
" et pueriliter: quando ipsa electio nisi reproba-
" tioni opposita non staret. Dicitur segregare
" Deus quos adoptet in salutem: fortuitò alios
" adipisci, vel sua industria acquirere, quod sola
" electio paucis confert, plusquam insulsè di-
" cetur. QUOS ERGO DEUS PRÆTERIT, RE-
" PROBAT: NEQUE ALIA DE CAUSA NISI QUOD
" AB HÆREDITATE QUAM FILIJS SUIS PRÆDES-
" TINAT, ILLOS VULT EXCLUDERE."
Ib. Lib. iii. Cap. 23. Sect. 1.

" Quanquam in fidem non illuminantur, nec
" evangelij efficaciam verè sentiunt, nisi qui
" præordinati sunt ad salutem: experientia
" tamen ostendit reprobos interdum simili ferè
" sensu atque electos affici, ut ne suo quidem
" judicio ab electis differant. Quare nihil ab-
" surdi est, quod cælestium donorum gustus, et
" temporalis fides illis tribuitur: non quod vim
" spiri-

" spiritualis Gratiæ solidè percipiant, ac certum
" fidei lumen : sed quia Dominus, ut magis con-
" victos et inexcusabiles reddat, se insinuat in
" eorum mentes, quatenùs sine adoptionis spi-
" ritu gustari potest ejus bonitas."

Respons. ad. 2^dam^. quæstionem inter Calvini Epistolas : Col. 434.

" Quanquam Fides divinæ ergà nos volun-
" tatis notitia est, et certa de ejus veritate per-
" suasio, non mirum tamen est, Divini amoris
" sensum in temporarijs evanescere, qui licèt
" fidei sit affinis ab eâ tamen multùm differt.
" Voluntas Dei immutabilis est, fateor, et semper
" ejus veritas sibi constat. Atquì nego huc
" usque progredi reprobos ut in arcanam illam
" revelationem penetrent quam solis electis scrip-
" tura vendicat. Nego igitur eos vel Dei volun-
" tatem, ut est immutabilis, capere ; vel ejus
" veritatem constanter amplecti : quia in sensu
" evanido subsidant : Sicuti arbor non satis altè
" plantata ut vivas radices agat, temporis suc-
" cessu arescit, licèt per aliquot annos non flores
" tantum et folia emittat, sed etiam fructus.
" Denique sicutì primi hominis defectione deleri
" potuit ex ejus mente et animâ Dei imago ; ita
" mirum non est si quibusdam gratiæ suæ radijs
" reprobis illuceat, quos postea extingui patitur.

" Nec

" Nec vero quidquam impedit quo minùs leviter
" alios tingat evangelij sui notitiâ, alios penitùs
" imbuat. Hoc interim tenendum est, quan-
" tumvis exigua sit ac debilis in electis fides:
" quia tamen spiritus Dei certa illis arra est ac
" sigillum suæ adoptionis, nunquam ex eorum
" cordibus deleri posse ejus sculpturam: repro-
" bos verò tali luce aspergi quæ posteà dispereat:
" neque tamen fallacem esse spiritum etiamsi
" semen, quod in eorum corda jacit, non vivi-
" ficet, ut semper maneat incorruptibile sicut in
" electis."

Respons. ad. 3^{tiam}. Quæstionem. Col. 435.

The following extracts give an account of the opinions of one Hieronymus Bolsecus, who had been censured, and banished from Geneva, for them. They likewise unfold very explicitly Calvin's own doctrines, and express his apprehension lest Bolsecus's opinions might be approved by the ministers of the church of Basil.

Calvinus ministris Basiliensibus, Mense Jan. 1552. Epist. Col. 141.

" Litteris nostris ac testimonio ne habeatur
" fides, descriptas ex actis publicis ejus respon-
" siones Senatus noster vobis misit; in quibus
" repe-

" reperietis ad verbum" " Fidem ab electione " non pendere." Item, " Electionem esse ex " fide." Item, " Neminem in suâ cæcitate ma- " nere ob naturæ corruptionem: quia ritè a Deo " illuminantur omnes; Deum verò contumelia " affici si quis dicat deseri aliquos in suâ cæci- " tate a Deo, quoniam illi sic visum est." Item, " Trahi a Deo rationales omnes creaturas nec " quenquam ab initio deseri, sed qui sæpius Deo " reluctatus est." Item, " Ex lapideo corde " fieri cor carneum, nihil esse aliud quam dari " cor intelligentiæ capax; hanc verò gratiam " generalem esse." Item, " Non esse hos potius " quam illos ad salutem prædestinatos." (et paulò post)—" Conferte hæc DELIRIA cum " vestro judicio.—Quid magis dissentaneum? " absit ergò ut VOS IMPIJS ejus erroribus dicamus " suffragari. Scribat Fallesius hominem esse non " malum, et in gratiam IGNOTI NEBULONIS " famam suam ludibrio prostituat." (Paulò infrà) " IMPIJ ET PERFIDI NEBULONIS ASTUTIA VOS " circumveniri passi non estis."—

This is pretty well for one man, consider- ing the charge brought against him; but he is not so let off. The next epistle is on the same subject; and unfolds Calvin's own doc- trines something more explicitly.

" Calvinus,

Calvinus Christophoro Liberteto.
(no date) Col. 142.

" Tu verò, mi Christophore, longè falleris,
" si æternum Dei consilium ita posse dis-
" cerpi putas, ut quosdam elegerit in salu
" tem, neminem exitio destinarit. Nam si
" aliquos elegit, certè sequitur non omnes
" esse electos. Porrò quid de his dicendum
" erit, nisi eos relinqui ut pereant? Mutua
" igitur inter reprobos et electos relatio sit
" oportet.——Verbo quidem fatetur Hierony-
" mus Bolsecus certum aliquem numerum a
" Deo electum esse; sed cum propiùs urgetur
" ad universos homines delabi ipsum necesse
" est. Dicit enim palàm ex æquo gratiam
" omnibus offerri, quæ ad salutem sit illis
" efficax: quod alij recipiunt, alij respuunt,
" discrimen in libero eorum arbitrio esse, qui
" Deum vocantem motu proprio sequuntur.
" Neque enim dissimulat sic libero arbitrio
" præditos esse omnes ut in medio omnibus
" posita sit obtinendæ salutis facultas. Hoc
" modo totam prædestinationem ab ipsâ ra-
" dice convelli vides, statui liberum arbitrium
" quod salutem aliquâ ex parte nobis ac-
" quirat.——Atque hoc plusquàm ridiculum
" est, quod Hieronymus liberum arbitrium
" confessus,

" confessus, à meriti voce abhorret. Quisquis
" enim ideò censetur in Dei filiis, quia oblatæ
" sibi adoptionis gratiæ se aptavit, quomodò
" merito spoliandus?"—He then accuses him of impudence, obstinacy, and prevarication, and goes on—" Sine fine et modo in eosdem re-
" volvi circuitus, nec fieri aliter potuit. Nisi
" enim tractos à Patre esse qui ad Christum
" veniunt fatemur, hoc peculiare esse Spi-
" ritû sancti opus in electis, vel omnes pro-
" miscue electos esse constat, vel causam elec-
" tionis in cujusque merito sitam esse: si re-
" probationis exordium in secundâ hominis
" contumaciâ statuitur, sequitur, nihil apud
" Deum esse constituti, sed suspensum esse
" ejus consilium quid de singulis acturus sit.—
" Fatetur Hieronymus naturâ omnes pravos
" esse, gratiam Dei omnibus offerri, quæ in-
" genitam à naturâ pravitatem corrigat. Quos-
" dam fingit liberi arbitrij sui motu correc-
" tionem admittere, ut sit efficax: alios
" quibus idem liberum esset, respuendo bis
" fieri contumaces: inde fictitiam reproba-
" tionem elicit. Ita æternum Dei consilium
" subjici omnium arbitrio, quis non videt?
" Et tu elegantiam nescio quam in tantâ
" INSULSITATE videre te putas. Atqui si
" quid in divinis intelligo hoc multò inep-
" tius ac crassius commentum est quam Pa-
" pistarum

" pistarum fuit. Jam si fructus electionis est
" bona et recta in homine voluntas; reprobos
" sequitur toto cordis affectu ad malum ferri.
" Nec verò Paulus cum volentis esse negat
" (Rom. ix. 16.) aliquam tribuit reprobis vo-
" luntatem, quæ per se sit irrita: quin potius
" ex Dei misericordiâ fluere docet, quod benè
" velle et rectè currere incipiant, qui priùs erant
" ab omni rectitudine aversi. Desinant ergò
" fontem et primam causam discretionis inter
" electos et reprobos in humano arbitrio locare,
" si quem electionis Dei locum relinquere vo-
" lunt."

Calvin, in the above quotation, has unfortunately run from one extreme to another. In order to avoid the popish Doctrine of Merit, he has adopted that of the Fatalists.

There is another Letter, without a name, concerning this Hieronymus Bolsecus, addressed, " Ministris Helveticis fratribus," written from Geneva, without a date. This gives a more particular account of his trial, &c. highly commending the moderation of Calvin's doctrine with respect to God's decrees; and appealing for it to his INSTITUTIO,—" quam hic (Hieronymus) " præcipuè susceptit oppugnandam." His own offspring being immediately attacked, may account

count perhaps for Calvin's making use of such illiberal language, very much unbecoming so great a man, and hurtful even to the very best cause.

Calvin's own opinions, in the year 1535, might upon reflection have taught him more moderation towards those who differed from his later system.

PRÆFATIO JOANNIS CALVINI IN EDITIONEM GALLICAM NOVI TESTAMENTI. NEOCOMI. Anno MDXXXV.

" Tandem igitur ubi adfuit plenum illud tem-
" pus ac dies a Domino præordinata, adstitit
" coràm Messias ille tot retrò sæculis exoptatis-
" simus: atque idem illa omnia cumulate præ-
" stitit quæ erant ad OMNIUM redemptionem
" necessaria. Neque verò intra unum Israëlem
" tantum illud beneficium stetit, cùm potius
" ad UNIVERSUM HUMANUM GENUS usque porri-
" gendum esset: Quia per unum Christum UNI-
" VERSUM HUMANUM GENUS reconciliandum erat
" Deo, uti his Novi Fæderis tabulis continetur et
" amplissimè demonstratur."—Calv. Ep. col. 543.

Again, in the same.—" Ad istam Hære-
" ditatem (Regni Paterni scilicet) vocamur
" OMNES SINE PERSONARUM ACCEPTATIONE,
" Masculi, Fœminæ, Summi, Infimi, Heri,
" Servi,

" Servi, Magistri, Discipuli, Doctores, Idiotæ,
" Judæi, Græci, Galli, Romani. NEMO HINC
" EXCLUDITUR, qui modó Christum, qualis of-
" fertur a Patre in salutem omnium, admittat,
" et admissum complectatur."—Ib. Col. 545.

Calvin's doctrine of Predestination appears, from the foregoing quotations, to be resolved into the sole will of God, both as to the elect and the reprobate. As to the first, he asserts the decrees of God to be absolute,—without any respect to faith in Christ, or a good life. As to the reprobate, they, by the same absolute and irrespective decree of God, are predestinated and determined* to sin, and so to damnation. How he keeps clear of making God the author of sin, it behoves his followers to explain.

II.

WE SHALL NEXT PROCEED TO OUR ARTICLE, AND SHEW THAT IT GIVES NO COUNTENANCE TO SUCH DOCTRINES; WHICH WE SHALL ENDEAVOUR TO EVINCE FROM THE DESIGN AND HISTORY OF THE ARTICLE, AND THE SENTIMENTS OF THE PRINCIPAL COMPILER OF IT.

* See Page 7.

It may be proper to produce this article, as compiled in Edward VI. time, giving in the margin the alterations made in it by our Reformers under Queen Elizabeth in the year 1562, and dividing it into paragraphs as the matter of it requires.

XVII Article.

" Predestination unto life, is the everlasting " purpose of God, whereby (before the founda- " tions of the world were laid) he hath con- " stantly decreed by his counsel, secret unto " us, to deliver from curse and damnation those " whom he hath chosen* out of mankind, " and to bring them by Christ to everlasting " salvation, as vessels made to honour. Where- " fore they which be endued with so excellent " a benefit of God, be called according to God's " purpose, by his spirit working in due season, " they through grace obey the calling, they be " justified freely, they are made sons of† adop- " tion, they are made like the image of‡ THE " only begotten§ Jesus Christ; they walk re- " ligiously in good works, and at length, by " God's mercy, they attain to everlasting feli- " city.

* Added in 1562: In Christ. † God by ‡ His. § Son.

As

" As the godly consideration of predestina-
" tion and election in Christ, is full of sweet,
" pleasant, and unspeakable comfort to godly
" persons, and such as feel in themselves the
" working of the spirit of Christ, mortifying
" the works of the flesh, and their earthly
" members, and drawing up their mind to high
" and heavenly things, as well because it doth
" greatly establish and confirm their faith of
" eternal salvation, to be enjoyed through
" Christ, as because it doth fervently kindle
" their love towards God.

" So for curious and carnal persons, lacking
" the spirit of Christ, to have continually before
" their eyes the sentence of God's predestina-
" tion, is a most dangerous downfall, whereby
" the devil doth thrust them either into despe-
" ration, or into wretchlessness of most unclean
" living (impurissimæ vitæ securitatem) no less
" perilous than desperation.

" Furthermore, * THOUGH THE DECREES OF
" PREDESTINATION BE UNKNOWN TO US, YET
" we must receive God's promises in such wise
" as they be generally set forth to us in holy
" scripture; and in our doings, that will of God
" is to be followed, which we have expressly
" declared unto us in the word of God."

* These words left out in 1562.

The following comparison of the several parts of the definition of predestination or election in the article, with the corresponding texts of scripture, will shew how nearly the compilers expressed themselves in scripture words.

" Predestination to life is the everlasting pur-
3 " pose of God, whereby (3.) (BEFORE THE
" FOUNDATIONS OF THE WORLD WERE LAID)
" he hath constantly decreed by his counsel, se-
1 " cret to us, to deliver from (1.) CURSE and
2 " damnation those whom he hath (2.) CHOSEN*
4 " (IN CHRIST) out of mankind, and to (4.)
" bring them by Christ to everlasting salvation
" (as vessels made to honour.")—Rom. ix. 21, 23.

* Added in 1562. Though our Reformers in Edward's time meant the same, as appears by the words BY CHRIST, in the next member of the sentence; yet those in Elizabeth's thought proper to keep close to the text in the Ephesians (ch. 1.) though they repeat the name of CHRIST again.

" Blessed be the God and Father of our
" Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with
" all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in
" Christ: according as he hath (2.) CHOSEN US 2
" IN HIM, (3.) BEFORE THE FOUNDATION OF 3
" THE WORLD, that we should be holy, and
" without blame before him in love: having
" predestinated us unto (9.) THE ADOPTION 9
" OF CHILDREN by Jesus Christ to himself, ac-
" cording to the good pleasure of his will, to
" the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein
" he hath made us accepted in the beloved; in
" whom we have (4.) REDEMPTION THROUGH 4
" HIS BLOOD, THE FORGIVENESS OF SINS, ac-
" cording to the riches of his grace; wherein
" he hath abounded towards us in all wisdom
" and prudence, having made known unto us
" the mystery of his will, according to his
" good pleasure, which he hath purposed in
" himself: that in the dispensation of the
" fulness of times, he might (4.) GATHER 4
" TOGETHER IN ONE, ALL THINGS IN
" CHRIST, BOTH WHICH ARE IN HEAVEN,
" AND WHICH ARE ON EARTH, even in him:
" (4.) IN WHOM ALSO WE HAVE OBTAINED 4
" AN INHERITANCE, being predestinated ac-
" cording to the purpose of him who
" worketh all things after the counsel of
" his own will: that we should be to the

" Wherefore they which be endued with so
5 " excellent a benefit of God, be (5.) CALLED
6 " ACCORDING TO GOD'S PURPOSE (6.) BY HIS
" SPIRIT WORKING in due season:"—

6 & 7 " They THROUGH (6 and 7.) GRACE OBEY the
" calling:"—

" praise of his glory, who first trusted in Christ." Ephes. i. 3—11.

" We know that all things work together for " good to them that love God, to them who are " the (5.) CALLED ACCORDING TO HIS PURPOSE. 5
" For whom he did foreknow, he also did pre- " destinate to be (10.) CONFORMED TO THE 10
" IMAGE OF HIS SON, that he might be the first- " born among many brethren. Moreover whom " he did predestinate, them he also (5.) CALLED. 5
" and whom he called, them he also justified: " and whom he justified, them he also (4.) GLO- 4
" RIFIED."—Rom. viii. 28—30.

" Who hath saved us, and (5.) CALLED US 5
" with an holy calling, not according to our " works, but (5.) ACCORDING TO HIS OWN PUR- 5
" POSE and grace, which was given us in Christ " Jesus, (3.) BEFORE THE WORLD BEGAN, but 3
" is now made manifest by the appearing of our " Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath abolished " death, and hath brought life and immortality " to light through the gospel."—2 Tim. i. 9, 10.

" Elect according to the foreknowledge of God " the Father, (6.) THROUGH SANCTIFICATION OF 6
" THE SPIRIT UNTO OBEDIENCE, and sprinkling " of the blood of Jesus Christ.—1 Pet. i. 2.

8 "They be (8.) JUSTIFIED FREELY."—

9 "They are MADE (9.) SONS OF * (God BY) "ADOPTION."—

* Added in 1562.

10 "They are (10.) MADE LIKE THE IMAGE OF "THE † (HIS) ONLY BEGOTTEN † (SON) JESUS "CHRIST:"

† Added in 1562.

11 (11.) "THEY WALK RELIGIOUSLY IN GOOD "WORKS:

12 (12) "And at length by God's mercy THEY "ATTAIN EVERLASTING FELICITY."

" Christ hath redeemed us from the (1.) CURSE 1
" of the Law, being made a curse for us,".—
Gal. iii. 13.

" But God be thanked, that ye were the ser-
" vants of sin; but ye have (7.) OBEYED from the 7
" heart that form of doctrine which was delivered
" you. Being then made free from sin, ye be-
" came the servants of righteousness."—Rom.
vi. 17, 18.

" Being (8.) JUSTIFIED FREELY by his grace, 8
" through the redemption that is in Christ Je-
" sus."—Rom. iii. 24.

" To redeem them that were under the law,
" that we might received the (9.) ADOPTION OF 9
" SONS. AND BECAUSE YE ARE SONS, God hath
" sent forth the spirit of his Son into your hearts,
" crying, Abba, Father."—Gal. iv. 5, 6.

" For we are his workmanship, (11.) CREATED 11
" IN CHRIST JESUS UNTO GOOD WORKS, WHICH
" GOD HATH BEFORE ORDAINED (οἱς προητοιμασεν
" to which God hath before prepared *us*) THAT
" WE SHOULD WALK IN THEM."—Ephes. ii. 10.*

(12.) " Come, ye blessed of my Father, in- 12
" herit the kingdom prepared for you from the
" foundation of the world."—Matt. xxv. 34.

* See Doddridge and Whitby in locum.

I shall

I shall add the judicious observations of Dr. * Waterland upon this article, as no other one has yet been able to confute them.

" The article of predestination has been vainly " enough urged in favour of the Calvinistical " tenets. For, not to mention the saving clause " in the conclusion, or its saying nothing at all " of reprobation, and nothing in favour of ABSO- " LUTE Predestination to life, there seems to be " a plain distinction (as Plaifere † has well ob- " served) in the article itself, of two kinds of pre- " destination, one of which is recommended to us, " the other condemned.—Predestination, rightly " and piously considered, that is, considered (not " IRRESPECTIVELY, not ABSOLUTELY) but with " respect to faith in Christ, faith working by " love, and persevering; such a predestination " is a sweet and comfortable doctrine. But the " sentence of God's predestination (it is not here " said IN CHRIST as before) that sentence SIM- " PLY or ABSOLUTELY considered (as CURIOUS " and CARNAL persons are apt to consider it) is " a most DANGEROUS DOWNFALL, leading either " to SECURITY or DESPERATION, as having no

* SUPPLEMENT TO THE CASE OF ARIAN SUBSCRIPTION, p. 57.

† PLAIFERE'S ANALYSIS OF THE 17th ARTICLE, p. 198. edit. 1719.

" respect

" respect to foreseen FAITH and a GOOD LIFE,
" nor depending upon it, but ANTECEDENT in
" order to it. The article then seems to speak
" of two subjects, first of predestination, soberly
" understood with respect to faith IN CHRIST,
" which is wholesome doctrine; secondly of pre-
" destination SIMPLY considered, which is a dan-
" gerous doctrine. And the latter part seems
" to be intended against those gospellers, whereof
" Bishop * Burnet speaks. Nor is it imaginable
" that any TRUE and SOUND doctrine of the
" gospel, should of itself have any aptness to be-

* " The doctrine of Predestination having been generally " taught by the Reformers, many of this sect (the Gospellers) " began to make strange inferences from it; reckoning that " since every thing was decreed, and the decrees of God " could not be frustrated, therefore men were to leave them- " selves to be carried by these decrees. This drew some into " great impiety of life, and others into desperation. The " Germans soon saw the ill effects of this doctrine. Luther " changed his mind about it, and Melancthon openly writ " against it. And since that time, the whole stream of the " Lutheran church has run the other way. But both Calvin " and Bucer were still for maintaining the doctrine of these " decrees: only they warned the people not to think much of " them, since they were secrets which men could not penetrate " into. But they did not so clearly show how these conse- " quences did not flow from such opinions. Hooper, and " many other good writers, did often dehort the people from " entering into these curiosities; and a caveat to the same pur- " pose was put afterwards into the article of the church about " predestination."

Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol ii. p. 107.

" come

" come a DOWNFALL even to CARNAL persons:
" but CARNAL persons are apt to corrupt a sound
" doctrine, and suit it to their own lusts and
" passions, thereby falsifying the truth. This
" doctrine so DEPRAVED and MISTAKEN our
" church condemns. That is, she condemns AB-
" SOLUTE, IRRESPECTIVE Predestination, not
" the other."

Hemingius (as quoted by Plaifere*) speaks to the same purpose.

" I. De prædestinatione rectè erudiri eccle-
" siam summoperè necessarium est: Nam ut
" nullam doctrinam uberiorem consolationem
" pijs conscientijs afferre solet, quam doctrina
" prædestinationis RECTE EXPLICATA, ita nihil
" periculosius est quam RECTA prædestinationis
" RATIONE aberrare."

" II. Nam qui a verâ deflectit, in præcipitium
" fertua, unde se recipere non potest."

" III. Sunt quidem, qui cum audiunt nostram
" salutem in Dei electione et proposito sitam esse,
" modum verum haud observant, somnia stoica,
" et fabulas Parcarum fingunt, quibus et seipsos
" miserè implicant, et alios perniciosè seducunt."

P. 200.

" IIII.

" IIII. Modus autem prædestinationis veris-
" simus est, quem Paulus nobis commonstrat,
" cum ad * Ephes. scribit. ELEGIT NOS IN
" CHRISTO. In hoc modo conditio fidei inclu-
" ditur: nam cum fide inserimur Christo, ejus
" membra efficimur, et idèo electi, quia Christi
" membra sumus."

† CRANMER, with the assistance of RIDLEY, was the compiler of our articles. ‡ The Archbishop in the year 1548 propounded a great and weighty business to MELANCTHON, which was this, The having of one common confession of faith for all the Protestant churches, drawn up out of the pure word of God, which they might all own and agree in. He had observed what differences there arose among Protestants in the doctrine of the Sacrament, in the divine decrees, in the government of the church, and some other things. These disagreements had rendered the professors of the gospel contemptible to those of the Roman communion. And as Helvetia and France with Germany were the chief countries abroad, where the reformation took place; CRANMER wrote, in pursuance of this design, to BULLINGER and CALVIN. The ‖ last of whom signifies by letter his entire appro-

* Ephes. i. 4. &c.

† Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. ii. p. 166, and particularly as to Cranmer, Vol. iii. p. 211.

‡ V. Strype's Life of Cranmer, p. 407.

‖ V. Strype's Life of ditto, p. 409.

bation

bation of it. MELANCTHON immediately wrote to CRANMER in answer to his proposal in these words—"Reverende Domine, literis quas Jonæ "Filius de sermone tuo mihi scripsit, ante men- "sem respondi. Quò diutius autem de vestrâ "deliberatione, quâ nulla gravior et magis ne- "cessaria in genere humano institui potest, co- "gito, eò magis et opto, et vos adhortandos "esse censeo, ut de universo doctrinæ corpore "edatis confessionem veram et perspicuam, col- "latis judicijs eruditorum, quorum et nomina "ascribantur, ut apud omnes gentes extet il- "lustre testimonium de doctrinâ gravi authori- "tate traditum, et ut posteritas normam habeat, "quam sequatur. Nec verò multùm dissimilis "ea confessio nostræ [sc. August. Confess.] erit "futura, sed paucos quosdam articulos velim "extare ad posteritatem magis explicatos, ne "ambiguitates posteà occasionem præbeant novis "dissidijs *."—Calend. Maij 1548.

And again in another † epistle to Cranmer, the same year, he says,—"Illud autem te oro, ut "deliberes cum viris bonis ac verè doctis, et quid "statuendum, et quâ moderatione initio in do- "cendo opus sit. Ego optarim, ut in priore epis- "tolâ scripsi, non tantum de hâc quæstione sed de

* Melancthonis Epist. p. 71. at the end of Erasmus's Epistles. Edit. 1642. † Ib. p. 523.

quibus-

" quibusdam alijs rebus edi summam necessariæ
" doctrinæ sine privato ullo effectu, deliberatis et
" adscriptis suffragijs piorum et doctorum, qui
" essent adhibiti ad eam deliberationem, nec re-
" linqui posteris ambiguitates tanquam μῆλον
" ἔριδος." In the same epistle he adds *,—" Ni
" MIS HORRIDÆ FUERUNT INITIO STOICÆ DISPU-
" TATIONES APUD NOSTROS DE FATO, ET DICI-
" PLINÆ NOCUERUNT. QUARE TE ROGO, UT DE
" TALI ALIQUA FORMULA DOCTRINÆ COGITES."

Melancthon's doctrine of predestination is well known from his LOCI THEOLOGICI and other works, and his disapprobation of Calvin's will be seen hereafter.

This excellent purpose of the archbishop was frustrated by the troubles which happened at that time both at home and † abroad, after he had

* Melancthon, in the AUGUSTAN CONFESSION (1530), after asserting the preaching of repentance and promise of grace to be universal, and explaining the grounds of the remission of our sins and justification, adds.—" Non est hic opus
" disputationibus de prædestinatione aut similibus. Nam
" promissio est universalis, et nihil detrahit operibus, imò
" exuscitat ad fidem, et verè bona opero." Cap. de Fide. In the SAXON CONFESSION (1551) the same is expressed nearly in the same words.—Corpus Confessionum, p. 84.

†. In this year (1548) the Emperor was busy in forcing the INTERIM upon the cities of Germany. He, with the utmost violence, obliged the Protestants of Augsburg and Ulm to submit to it, and many other towns complied with the same, through

laboured for two years to bring it to a good issue. This design being at an end, he proposed, about the year 1550, to draw up a body of articles of religion, for the use of the church of England only, which, by the King's authority, he brought to effect in 1552, and in that year they were published and subscribed. In the drawing up of these articles, next to the scriptures and the doctrine of the primitive church, he had an eye to the AUGUSTAN CONFESSION, as appears from the identity of many of the articles—to the writings of Melancthon, whose assistance he desired, and whom King Edward invited over hither—to the works of ERASMUS,—and to the NECESSARY DOCTRINE AND ERUDITION FOR ANY CHRISTIAN MAN, which the * archbishop had so great a hand in drawing up. The doctrine of that book, as to the point we are upon, will give us the earliest notice of his opinions concerning predestination, and the points necessarily connected with it; opinions which he entertained to the last, and had no occasion to vary from,

through fear of the like vengeance from the Emperor, which these cities had felt. He then proceeded to the Low-countries, carrying in triumph his two prisoners, the Elector of Saxony, and Landgrave of Hesse, along with him. These were the troubles abroad, that put a stop to CRANMER'S design. V. Robertson's History of Charles V. vol. 3. p. 180. 4to.

* Burnet's History of the Reformation, vol. 2. records p. 238. where Henry VIII. calls the NECESSARY DOCTRINE Cranmer's own book.

as he did upon conviction, from that of the corporal presence. The three last chapters of that work, which was reviewed, altered, and augmented, and at length published in 1543, were added by Cranmer, viz, those on FREE-WILL, JUSTIFICATION, and GOOD WORKS. In the first, after asserting free will in man, he adds,—"It is surely of the grace of God onely, that "first we be inspired and moved to any good "thing: but to resiste temptations and to per-"syst in goodnes, and go forwarde, it is both "of the grace of God, and of our free will and "endevoure. And finally after we have perse-"vered to the ende, to be crowned with glory "therfore, is the gift and mercy of God, who "of his bountifull goodnesse hath ordeyned that "rewarde to be given after this life, according "to suche good workes as be done in this life "by his grace." And again in the same chapter,—"God is naturally good, and willeth all "men to be saved, and careth for them, and "provideth al thing, by whiche they may be "saved, excepte by their owne malice, they "woll be evyl, and by so righteuous judgement "of God, perishe and be loste. For truely "men be to themselves the autours of sinne "and damnation. God is neyther autour of "sinne, nor the cause of damnation. And yet "doth he moste rightuously damne those

" men, that do with vices corrupte theyr na
" ture, whiche he made good, and do abuse the
" same to evyll desyres, againste his most holy
" wyll. Wherefore men be to be warned, that
" they do not impute to God theyr vice, or
" theyr damnation, but to themselves, whiche
" by free will have abused the grace and bene-
" fites of God."

" All men be also to be monished, and chiefly
" preachers, that in this highe mater, they lok-
" inge on both sides, so attempre and moderate
" themselves, that neyther they so preache the
" grace of God, that they take away therby
" free will, nor on the other side so extolle free
" will, that injury be done to the grace of God."

In the chapter on Justification, he says—
" And albeit God is the principal cause, and
" chiefe worker of this Justification in us, with-
" out whose grace no man can do no good
" thyng, but followyng his free wyll in the state
" of a synner, encreaseth his owne injustice, and
" multiplieth his synne: yet so it pleaseth the
" high wisdome of God, that man prevented
" by his grace (which beyng offered, man may
" if he wyll refuse or receive) shall be also a
" worker by his free consent, and obedience to
" the same, in the atteyning of his owne justifi-
" cation,

" cation, and by Goddes grace and helpe, shal
" walke in such workes, as be requisite to his
" justification, and so continuyng come to the
" perfect end thereof, by such meanes and waies
" as God hath ordeyned."

" Wherin it is to be considered, that although
" our Saviour Christ hath offered hymselfe up-
" on the crosse, a sufficient * redemption and
" satisfaction for the synnes of all the world,
" and hath made hymselfe an open way and
" entre unto God the Father for all mankynd,
" onely by his worthy merite and deservyng,
" and willyng all men to be saved, calleth up-
" on all the world, without respect of persones,
" to come and be partakers of the ryghtuous-
" nesse, peace, and glory which is in hym: yet
" for all this benignitie and grace, shewed uni-
" versally to the hole worlde, none shall have
" the effect of the benefyte of our Saviour
" Christe, and enjoye everlastinge salvation by
" him: but they that take such ways to at-
" teyn the same, as he hath taught and ap-
" pointed by his holy word."—Again, in the same chapter,—" And it is no doubt, but al
" though we be ones justified, yet we may

* See below, how uniform Cranmer was in this opinion of UNIVERSAL REDEMPTION.

" fall there fro, by oure owne free wyll and
" consentyng unto synne, and folowyng the de-
" sires thereof. For albeit the hous of our con-
" science be ones made clene, and the foull spi-
" rite be expelled from us in baptisme, or pe-
" naunce: yet if we wax ydle and take not
" hede, he will returne with seven worse spi-
" rites, and possesse us agayn. And although
" we be illuminat, and have tasted the heavenly
" gyft, and be made partakers of the holy goste:
" yet may we fall and displease God. Wherfore
" as saint Paul sayeth, *He that standeth, let him*
" *take hede that he fall not.*"

" And here all phantastical imagination, cu-
" rious reasonyng, and vain trust of predesti-
" nation, is to be laid apart. And according
" to the plain manner of speaking and teach-
" yng of scripture in innumerable places, we
" ought evermore to be in dread of our owne
" fraielty, and natural pronity to fall to synne,
" and not to assure ourselfe, that we be * elect-
" ed any otherwise, than by felying of spiritual

* Cranmer here expresses much the same, that the second paragraph of the 17th Article does, which evinces the truth of archbishop Bancroft's observation at the Hampton-court conference, that concerning our election in Christ, we are not to argue descendendo but ascendendo.—In these quotations from the necessary doctrine, we have plain traces of our X. XVI. and XXXI. Articles.

" motions

" motions in our hart, and by the tokens of " good and vertuous livyng, in following the " grace of God, and perseverying in the same " to the ende." And again, *ib.*

" And whereas in certain places of scripture " our justification is ascribed to fayth, without " any further addition or mention of an other " vertue or gift of God: it is to be understand " of fayth in the second acceptation, as before " is declared in the article of faith, wherein the " feare of God, repentaunce, hope, and charitie " be included and comprised, all which must " be joyned togither in our justification: so " that no fayth is sufficient to justification or " salvation, but suche a fayth, as worketh by " charity, as is plainly expressed by saint Paul " in his epistle to the Galatians."

These were CRANMER's doctrines in the year 1543. How opposite to the rigid ones of Calvin I need not observe. That he continued in the same to the last will appear from the following quotations, wherein he asserts universal redemption through Christ; a doctrine, which pursued in its just consequence, will overthrow the whole of Calvin's system on these points.

"—Christ was suche an hygh byshop, that

" he

" he ones offeryng himself, was sufficient by ones
" effusion of his bloud, to abolyshe synne unto
" the worldes end. He was so perfect a priest,
" that by one oblation he purged an infinite
" heape of synnes leavyng an easy and redy re-
" medy for al synners, that his one sacryfice
" shoulde suffise for many yeares unto all men
" that wolde not shewe theimselves unwoorthye,
" And he toke unto hymself not onely their
" sinnes that many yeres before were dead, and
" put theyr trust in hym, but also the synnes of
" those, that untyl his comyng agayn, shuld
" truly beleve in his gospell. So that nowe we
" may loke for none other priest nor sacrifice,
" to take away our synnes, but only hym and
" his sacrifice. And as he dying ones was offered
" for all, so as muche as pertayned to hym, hee
" toke all mens synnes unto himself."—Cranmer on the Sacrament. Lond 1550. p. 106. b. 107. a.

Speaking before in his Preface to the same, of the reason of Christ's coming into the world, he says,—" and to preach and give pardon and a " full remission of synne to all his elected, and " to perform the same, he made a sacrifice and " oblation upon the crosse, which was a full re- " demption and propitiation for the synnes of " the whole world." Again in his prayer at the stake.—

" O God

" O God the Son, thou wast not made man,
" this great mystery was not wrought, for few
" or small offences, nor thou didst not give thy
" Son unto death, O God the Father, for our
" little and small synnes only, but for all the
" greatest synnes of the world: so that the sinner
" return unto thee with a penitent heart."—

If we add the words of bishop Ridley, in the Preface to his Disputation at Oxford, a little before his martyrdom, we shall have reason to conclude from what quarter our XXXI Article and these words in the communion-service came—
" Who made there (upon the cross) by his one
" oblation of himself once offered, a full, per-
" fect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and sa-
" tisfaction for the sins of the whole world."

The bishop's words are these—" Ex epistola
" ad Hebræos patet unicam esse oblationem et
" unicum verè vivificum sacrificium, oblatum
" in ara Crucis, qui fuit, est et erit in perpetuum
" propitiatio pro peccatis totius mundi."

It appears that CRANMER and MELANCTHON had a high veneration for each other. Their correspondence began * as early, at least, as 1535.

* V. Melancthonis Epist: ubi supra, p. 522.

MELANC-

MELANCTHON recommended several foreigners, to the archbishop's patronage, whom he cordially embraced. CRANMER gave King Edward so high an opinion of him, that, as was before observed, he invited him over into England. He [CRANMER] consulted him upon the most important occasions, paid the highest regard in drawing up our Articles, to the AUGUSTAN CONFESSION, compiled by MELANCTHON, and seems to have inserted our XVII[th] Article against the rigid doctrine of Predestination, in consequence of his admonition to him in the letter quoted above.

Let us now consider how matters stood with CALVIN, in respect to these two great men. We have mentioned before that CRANMER had written to CALVIN in 1548, as he did to others in the foreign Protestant churches, upon his design of a general confession; the nature of the thing requiring that he should do so. About the same time CALVIN, understanding EDWARD's design of prosecuting the Reformation here, wrote to CRANMER, offering his assistance; but the * archbishop knew the man, says Heylin, and refused the offer. In the year 1549 he wrote a long † letter to the Lord Protector SOMERSET, wherein he canvasses the English liturgy;

* Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 65.

† Ib.—p. 80.

and

and in 1551 he does the same to the King, the Council, and the Archbishop, and takes upon himself to complain of, and direct the conduct of affairs here, but with as little effect as before, except perhaps he might be the remote cause of a review of the liturgy, which was submitted to the judgments of * PETER MARTYR, who came into England in the year 1548, and of MARTIN BUCER, who did not arrive till some time after. Being thus disappointed, he felt the impression of it upon his mind, so late as the 22d of January, 1555. In that year disputes arose at Frankford between the English, who fled from Queen Mary's persecution, concerning the use of Edward's liturgy. JOHN KNOX and WILLIAM WHITTINHAM took upon them to make an abstract of it, and send it to CALVIN for his judgment upon it. In his answer he signifies his dislike of it with great freedom, though it had been reviewed. He gives his advice, however, to both parties for their conduct under their present disputes; and then concludes in this desponding manner †

* Ib. p. 107.—Plaifere's Appello Evangelium, Ed. 1719. p. 15, note.

† "Sed ego frustra ad eos sermonem converto, qui fortè "non tantum mihi tribuunt, ut consilium a tali auctore pro- "fectum admittere dignentur."

Calvinus Anglis Francford, S. D.—Epist. p. 213.—And a Discourse of the Troubles of Francford, republished in the Phœnix, vol. 2. p. 70.

—"But

—" But I speak in vain to them, which per-
" chance esteem me not so well, as they will
" vouchsafe to admit the counsel, that cometh
" from such an author." This, from the turn of the preceding sentence, is addressed to the patrons of the English liturgy.

The situation in which CALVIN was with MELANCTHON is next to be considered. In the year 1552, when our articles were just finished, MELANCTHON expunges, with his own hand, the article de Electione out of a rescript of CALVIN's. An offence this of such a nature, as was sufficient, one would have thought, to have kindled all the fire of so ardent a spirit. In other cases, where difference of opinion only arose on his favourite points, from those who maintained the doctrines of MELANCTHON, both the persons and doctrines were arraigned. The first were * PERFIDI ET IMPIJ NEBULONES.—STULTI HOMINES † virulenti isti canes.—The second—Deliria—IMPIJ ERRORES—INSULSITAS. But the venerable character of MELANCTHON, in this instance, restrained his impetuosity, and though he stiffly keeps to his own opinions, and expresses some resentment upon what MELANCTHON

* Epistolæ, Col. 142.

† Institut. Lib. iii. cap. 23. sect. 2.

had

had done, yet he does it in so gentle a manner, and with such high encomiums on his character, that it is worth while to produce part of the letter at least; as well for ascertaining the fact, as a specimen of the delicacy of CALVIN's address upon the occasion.

Calvinus Melancthoni, S. D. Genevæ 4 Cal. Dec. 1552. Col. 146.

" Me non levitèr pungit quæ in nostrâ docendi
" ratione nimis palàm conspicitur repugnantia.
" Equidem non ignoro si quid detur hominum
" auctoritati, longè æquius esse ut tibi sub-
" scribam, quàm ut tu in sententiam meam
" descendas. Verùm id non argitur; neque
" etiam a pijs Christi ministris optandum est.
" Hoc scilicet quæri utrinque decet, ut consen-
" tiamus in puram Dei veritatem. Me autem,
" ut ingenuè fatear, religio impedit ne tibi in
" hâc doctrinæ parte accedam: quòd nimis phi-
" losophicè de libero arbitrio disputare videris;
" in electione tractandâ nihil aliud habere pro-
" positum, nisi ut te ad communem hominum
" sensum accomodes. Neque enim hallucinationi tribui hoc potest, quòd homo acutus,
" et prudens, et in scripturâ probè exercitatus,
" electionem Dei cum promissionibus confundis,
" quæ sunt universæ. Nihil enim magis notum

" est

" est, quam verbi prædicationem omnibus
" promiscuè esse communem, sed fidei spiritum
" solis electis singulari privilegio donari. Uni-
" versæ sunt promissiones. Quî fit igitur ut
" non peræquè apud omnes vigeat earum effica-
" cia? Nempè quia non omnibus brachium
" suum Deus patefacit. Nec verò apud homines
" mediocriter in scripturâ versatos ea res dispu-
" tatione indiget: cùm pariter omnibus Christi
" gratiam offerant promissiones; et externâ voce
" invitet Deus quoslibet in salutem; peculiare
" esse fidei donum. Et mihi videor totam hanc
" quæstionem quamvis impedita sit ac spinosa,
" proximè edito libello dilucidè explicâsse. Cùm
" res adeò plana sit te ex animi sensu prorsus
" diversum tradere, nemo erit sani judicij cui
" persuadeas. Curam simul et dolorem mihi
" auget quod te video in hâc re propemodùm
" esse tui dissimilem: audio enim, CUM TOTA
" OBLATA ESSET FORMULA NOSTRÆ CUM TIGU-
" RINA ECCLESIA CONSENSIONIS PROTINUS AR-
" REPTO CALAMO SENTENTIAM UNAM, QUÆ
" DEI ELECTOS A REPROBIS PARCE ET SOBRIE
" DISCERNIT, ABS TE ESSE CONFOSSAM. Quod
" certè ab ingenij tui mansuetudine, valdè ab-
" horret. Itaque ut meum libellum legere, vel
" saltem gustare sustineas, non rogo: quia id
" frustrà mihi facturus videor. Utinam his de
" rebus coràm aliquandò colloqui liceret. Notus

" est

" est mihi tuus candor, perspecta ingenuitas et
" moderatio: pietas verò angelis et toti mundo
" testata est. Ergò facilè ut spero tota ea res
" inter nos expediretur."

We have seen nothing thus far that has shewn any attachment to CALVIN's rigid doctrines, either in MELANCTHON or CRANMER, but much to the contrary.

III.

IN ORDER TO CONFIRM THE SENSE OF THE XVIIth ARTICLE, AS TO ITS CONTAINING A CAVEAT AGAINST THE RIGID DOCTRINE, AND THE ABUSES TOO NATURALLY FOLLOWING FROM IT, WE SHALL PRODUCE UNDER THIS THIRD HEAD, FROM THE REFORMATIO LEGUM, THE CHAPTER DE PRÆDESTINATIONE. As the book itself is in few hands, we shall give it at full length.

By an * Act of Parliament the 3d of Edward VI. (ann. 1549), The King was empowered, for the space of three years, to nominate thirty-two persons; sixteen of the clergy, four whereof to be bishops; sixteen of the tem-

* V. Gibson's Codex, Vol. 2. ed. 1761.—p. 951.

porality,

porality, four whereof to be learned in the common laws of the realm: These thirty-two persons were to peruse and examine the old ecclesiastical laws, and to gather, order and compile a new body of them. By his letters patent, bearing date 11th of Nov. ann. regni quinto (1551), EDWARD nominates and empowers eight persons to prepare and digest this body of laws, to be laid before him, his privy council and the remainder of the thirty-two, which he intended to nominate; in order to the perfecting and ratifying of them, according to the tenor of the said act. Archbishop * CRANMER was at the head of these eight persons. The doctrinal part of this body of laws, thus drawn up, consisted of two parts. The first, DE SUMMA TRINITATE, ET FIDE CATHOLICA; The second, consisting of twenty-two chapters, treats de HÆRESIBUS; both together contain much the same with our articles. This body of laws failed of being ratified by the premature death of King EDWARD. They were afterwards published by JOHN FOX the martyrologist in 1571, under the direction of ARCHBISHOP PARKER, and would have had the sanction of the legislature then, had not the over forwardness of the puritan part of the Commons, who were desirous of assuming

* Fox, in his preface to the REFORMATIO LEGUM, says, "summæ negotij præfuit Tho. Cranmerus archiepiscopus "Cantuariensis."

every

every thing to themselves, made the * Queen prevent it.

Though these laws are of no authoritative force, yet they still give the most authentic testimony to the sense and opinions of the compilers of our article, as concurrent with them, and intended to be corroborative of them.

De Hæresibus. Cap. 22. De Prædestinatione.

" In ecclesiâ multi feris et dissolutis moribus
" vivunt, qui cùm re ipsa curiosi sint, differti
" luxu, et a Christi spiritu prorsus alieni, sem-
" per prædestinationem et rejectionem, vel, ut
" usitatè loquuntur, reprobationem in sermone
" jactant, ut, cùm æterno consilio Deus vel de
" salute, vel de interitu aliquid certi constitue-
" rit, indè latebram suis maleficijs et sceleribus,
" et omnis generis perversitati quærant. Et
" cùm pastores dissipatam illorum et flagitiosam
" vitam coarguunt, in voluntatem Dei crimi-
" num suorum culpam conferunt, et hâc defen-

* Collier's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii. p. 530. and Sir Symonds Dewes's Journals in the Session of 1571.—Where it appears that the Puritan members, at the beginning of the session, offered the Reformatio Legum to the Commons; the Queen, jealous of their encroachment upon her supremacy, tells them, she had seen their articles, and liked them well, but would do something of herself.

" sione

" sione profligatas admonitorum reprehensiones
" existimant; ac ità tandem, duce diabolo, vel
" in desperationem præsentem abjiciuntur præ-
" cipites, vel ad solutam quandam, et mollem
" vitæ securitatem, sine aut pœnitentiâ, aut
" scelerum conscientiâ dilabuntur. Quæ duo
" mala disparem naturam, sed finem videntur
" eundem habere. Nos verò sacris scripturis
" eruditi, talem in hâc re doctrinam ponimus,
" quod diligens et accurata cogitatio, de præ-
" destinatione nostrâ, et electione suscepta sit
" (de quibus Dei voluntate determinatum fuit
" antequam mundi fundamenta jacerentur).
" Hæc itaque diligens et seria, quam diximus,
" his de rebus cogitatio, piorum hominum ani-
" mos spiritu Christi afflatos, et carnis et mem-
" brorum subjectionem præsentientes, et ad
" cœlestia sursum tendentes, dulcissima qua-
" dam, et jucundissima consolatione permulcet,
" quoniam fidem nostram de perpetua salute
" per Christum ad nos perventura confirmat,
" vehementissimas charitatis in Deum flammas
" accendid, mirabiliter ad gratias agendas exsus-
" citat, ad bona nos opera propinquissimè ad-
" ducit, et a peccatis longissimè abducit, quo-
" niam a Deo sumus electi, et filij ejus in-
" stituti: quæ singularis et eximia conditio
" summam a nobis salubritatem morum, et
" excellentissimam virtutis perfectionem re-
" quirit.

" quirit. Denique nobis arrogantiam minuit,
" ne viribus nostris geri credamus, quæ gratuitâ
" Dei beneficentiâ, et infinitâ bonitate indul-
" gentur. Præterea neminem ex hoc loco pur-
" gationem censemus vitiorum suorum afferre
" posse, quia Deus nihil ullâ in re injustè con-
" stituit, nec ad peccata voluntates nostras un-
" quam invitas trudit. Qua propter omnes no-
" bis admonendi sunt, ut in actionibus suscipi-
" endis ad decreta prædestinationis se non refe-
" rant, sed universam vitæ suæ rationem ad Dei
" leges accommodent, cum et promissiones bo-
" nis, et minas malis in sacris scripturis genera-
" liter propositas contemplentur. Debemus enim
" ad Dei cultum vijs illis ingredi, et in illa Dei
" voluntate commorari, quam in sacris scripturis
" patefactam esse videmus."

After this last chapter on the heresies follows the

EPILOGUS.

" Posset magna colluvies aliarum hæresium ac-
" cumulari, sed hoc tempore illas nominare so-
" lum voluimus, quæ potissimum hisce nostris
" temporibus per ecclesiam diffunduntur: fideles
" omnes in nomine Dei, et Domini nostri Jesu
" Christi obtestantes, ut ab his opinionibus pes-
" tilentissimis se longissimè abducant, et ab illis
" etiam vehementer contendimus qui rem pub-

 " licam,

" licam, et ecclesiam administrant, ut istas hæ-
" reses ex Regno nostro penitùs evellendas, et ra-
" dicitùs extirpandas (quantum in se est) curent."

This epilogue shews that these heresies were frequent in the time of the compilers of the Articles. That they looked upon them as of the most fatal consequence both to church and state, appears from the solemn manner in which they conjure all persons to avoid falling into these most pestilent opinions; and their calling upon the governors in church and state to extirpate them entirely out of the kingdom.

It has been observed before, that the Article contains a caveat against the mistaken notion of predestination, calling it THE SENTENCE OF GOD'S PREDESTINATION, in contradistinction to the true sense of it described in the first part of the Article, where it is called PREDESTINATION UNTO LIFE IN OR BY CHRIST. It was likewise mentioned, that Melancthon, in his letter to Cranmer, desires him to make some provision against it. This chapter of the REFORMATIO LEGUM begins with a large and minute description of this mistaken notion of predestination, wherein men sought a cover for their wickedness —" Semper prædestinationem, et rejectionem,
" vel ut usitatè loquuntur, reprobationem in ser-
" mone

" monte jactant, ut, cum æterno consilio Deus " vel de salute, vel de interitu aliquid certi con- " stituerit, indè latebram suis maleficijs et scele- " ribus, et omnis generis perversitati quærant— " et—in voluntatem Dei criminum suorum cul- " pam conferunt"—and at length—" Duce dia- " bolo, vel in desperationem præsentem abjici- " untur præcipites; vel in solutam quandam, et " mollem vitæ securitatem, sine aut pœnitentiâ, " aut scelerum conscientiâ dilabuntur." The same consequence from this doctrine is expressed, though less explicitly, in the article.

That our reformers intended to lay down a doctrine different from these fatalists, appears from the manner in which they express themselves.—" Nos verò sacris scripturis eruditi, ta- " lem in hâc re doctrinam ponimus, quod dili- " gens et accurata cogitatio, de prædestinatione " et electione suscepta sit." Whereas the article begins with a definition of predestination expressed nearly in the words of scripture, (the compilers fearing, as Ridley says to Bradford, to speak farther, yea almost none otherwise then the very texte dothe, as it wer, lead them by the hand) the REFORMATIO, in the printed copies, has no definition of it. But that one was inserted in the original, and unfortunately left out at the press, from the hurry perhaps in which it was printed

off against the meeting of Parliament in April, 1571, when it was offered to the Commons soon after they met, in order to its confirmation by the legislature: that such a definition was in the original appears from the formal transition they make towards it in the words just now given,—"Nos verò, &c."—the sentence breaks off abruptly with the word "SUSCEPTA," leaving the sense imperfect. The Editor of the second edition (1641) added SIT after SUSCEPTA, which by no means makes up the deficiency. The parenthesis immediately following expresses the same that the article does in the beginning of the definition, and the next sentence refers to what they had before defined.—"Hæc itaque diligens, et seria, "quam diximus, his de rebus cogitatio."—It then goes on, somewhat more diffusely than the article, to mention the sweet consolation of their doctrine to persons rightly disposed, because it confirmed to them their faith of salvation through Christ; the many happy consequences to those who are in such a condition, and that purity of life it necessarily requires. Our reformers, at the same time they guard us against the popish doc-

* We have as yet been disappointed in our researches after a MS. copy of the REFORMATIO. Archbishop Parker furnished Mr. Fox with two, from which he published the edition of 1571. The archbishop's MSS. have been consulted at Cambridge, but no copy remains in the collection.

trine

trine of merit and the Pelagian self-sufficiency, lay down one different from these fatalists, whose notions of an absolute irrespective predestination had led them into such horrid conclusions as totally overturned all the pure precepts of the gospel.

Calvin (Institut. lib. iii. cap. 23. sect. 1. quoted above, p. 9.) makes election and reprobation correlates, so that one cannot subsist without the other; concluding thus,—" Quos " ergo Deus præterit, reprobat: neque aliâ de " causâ nisi quod ab hæreditate quam filijs suis " prædestinat, illos vult excludere." Now the XVII^th^ Article takes no notice of reprobation; in the REFORMATIO LEGUM our reformers state no doctrine concerning it, as they have done relating to election; but condemn it as pleaded by the Gospellers, whose opinion concerning the doctrine itself could not be stronger than what Calvin had taught.

IV.

UNDER THE FOURTH HEAD IT IS PROPOSED TO PRODUCE THE TESTIMONIES OF THE BISHOPS HOOPER AND LATIMER AGAINST THE RIGID DOCTRINE OF THE GOSPELLERS, AND THE ILL USE THEY TOO NATURALLY MADE OF IT. The first in his preface to his DECLARATION OF THE TEN

TEN COMMANDMENTS, published 1549, professedly encounters their opinions, and answers their arguments.

He lays down "the cause of rejection, or damnation to be sinne in man, which will not heare, neither receive the promise of the gospell, or else after he hath received it, by accustomed doing ill, falleth either into a contempt of the gospell, and will not study to live thereafter, or else hateth the gospell because it condemneth his ungodly lyfe, and would there were neither God nor gospell to punish him for doing of ill. This sentence is true, howsoever man judge of predestination. God is not the cause of sinne, nor would not have man to sinne. THOU ART NOT THE GOD THAT WILLETH SIN. (Psal. v. 4.) And it is said,—THY PERDITION O ISRAEL IS OF THYSELF, AND THY SUCCOR ONELIE OF ME. (Ose. xiii. 9.)—The cause of our election is the mercy of God in Christ. Howbeit, he that will be partaker of this election, must receive the promise in Christ by faith, for therefore we be elected, because afterward we are made the members of Christ. Therefore as in the justification or remission of sinne, there is a cause, though no dignitie at all, in the receiver of his justification, and so we judge him by the scrip-

ture

" ture to be justified, and hath remission of his
" sinne, because hee received the grace promised
" in Christ. So we judge of election by the
" event or successe that hapneth in the life of
" man, those onlie to be elected, that by faith
" apprehend the mercy promised in Christ,
" otherwise we should not judge of election.
" For Paule saith plainly. * THAT THEY THAT
" BELIEVE BY THE SPIRIT OF GOD, ARE THE
" CHILDREN OF GOD, AND THAT THE SPIRIT
" OF GOD DOTH TESTIFIE WITH OUR SPIRITS,
" THAT WE ARE THE CHILDREN OF GOD, being
" admonished therefore by scripture, we must
" leave sinne, and doo the works commanded of
" God, or els it is a carnal opinion, that we have
" blinded ourselves withall, of fatall destinye, and
" yet will not save us. And in case there fol-
" lowe not in our knowledge of Christ, amend-
" ment of life, it is not lively fayth that wee
" have, but rather a vaine knowledge, and mere
" presumption. † John saith, NO MAN COMETH
" TO ME, EXCEPT MY FATHER DRAW HIM.
" Many men understand these words in a wrong
" sense, as though God required in a reasonable
" man no more than in a dead post, and mark-
" eth not the words that follow, EVERY MAN
" THAT HEARETH AND LEARNETH OF MY FA-

* Rom. viii. 14, 16. † John vi. 44.

" THER

" THER COMETH TO ME. God draweth with " his word and the Holy Ghost, but man's duty " is to heare and learne, that is to say, receive " the grace of God, consent to the promise " and not repugne the God that calleth. God " doth promise the Holy Ghost unto them " that aske him, and not to them that contemne " him."

Again, after shewing that as Adam's sin extended to all and every of his posterity, so did the promise of grace in Christ generally appertain as well to every and singular of Adam's posterity as to Adam: thus asserting universal redemption through Christ, he goes on to explain himself as follows,—" Further sainte Paule " * doth by collation of Adam and Christ, sinne " and grace, thus interpret God's promise, and " maketh not Christ inferiour to Adam, nor " grace unto sinne. If all then shall be saved, " what is to be said of those that saint Peter " speaketh of, † THAT SHALL PERISH FOR " THEIR FALSE DOCTRINE. And likewise Christ " saith, THAT THE GATE IS STRAIGHT THAT " LEADETH TO LIFE, AND FEW ENTER. Thus " the scripture answereth: that the promise " of grace appertaineth to everie sort of men " in the world, and comprehendeth them all,

* Rom. v. 15. † 2 Pet. ii. 1. 5.

howbeit

" howbeit within certaine limits and bounds,
" the which if men neglect or passe over, they
" exclude themselves from the promise in Christ:
" as Cain was no more excluded, till he excluded
" himselfe, than Abel; Saule than David; Judas
" than Peter, * Esau than Jacob: by the † scrip-
" ture it seemeth that the sentence of God was
" given to save the one, and to damne the
" other, before the one loved God, or the other
" hated God. Howbeit these thretnings of God
" against Esau, if he had not of his wilfull ma-
" lice excluded himself from the promise of
" grace, should no more have hindered his sal-
" vation, than God's threatnings against ‡ Ni-
" nivie, which notwithstanding that God said
" should be destroid within forty daies, stood a
" great time after, and did penance: Esau was
" circumcised and presented unto the church
" of God by his father Isaac in all externall ce-
" remonies as well as Jacob, and that his life
" and conversation was not as agreeable unto
" justice and equitie, as Jacob's; the sentence
" of God unto Rebecca was not in the fault,

* See above, p. 4. a quotation from Calvin's Institutes, lib. iii. cap. 22. sect. 11. where he makes use of this instance of Esau and Jacob to confirm his doctrine of absolute predestination and reprobation, which Hooper here clears up.

† Mal. i. 2, 3.—Rom. ix. 13.

‡ Jonas i. 2.

but

" but his owne malice, for there is mentioned
" nothing at a. in that place, that Esau was dis-
" herited of eternal life, but that he should be
" inferior to his brother Jacob in this world,
" which prophesie was fulfilled in their posteri-
" ties, and not the persons themselves. Of this
" acceptation of the one, and reprobation of the
" other, concerning the promise of the earth,
" speaketh Malachie the prophet, as the begin-
" ning of his book declareth, speaking in this
" wise. * I HAVE LOVED YOU (SAITH THE
" LORD) AND YOU SAIE: WHEREIN HAST
" THOU LOVED US? God answereth: WAS NOT
" ESAU JACOB'S BROTHER? (SAITH THE LORD)
" NOTWITHSTANDING, I LOVED JACOB AND
" HATED ESAU. Wherein hated God Esau? the
" prophet sheweth: I HAVE MADE HIS POSSES-
" SION THAT WAS THE MOUNT SEIR DESOLAT,
" AS A DESERT OR WILDERNESS OF DRAGONS:
" the which hapned in the time of Nabuchodo-
" nosor. Wherein he loved Jacob, the text
" declareth. God transferred the right and title
" that apperteineth unto Esau the elder brother
" to Jacob the yoonger. Likewise the land that
" was promised unto † Abraham and Isaac, was
" by legasie and testament, given unto Jacob

* Mal. i. 2, 3.

† Gen. xxv. 23. and xxvii. 28, 29.

" and

" and his posterities. * St. Paule useth this ex-
" ample of Jacob and Esau for none other pur-
" pose but to take awaie from the Jewes, the
" thing that they most put their trust in, to
" say, the vaine hope they had in the carnall
" linage, and naturall descent from the family
" and houshold of Abraham, and likewise their
" false confidence they had in the keeping of
" the law of Moses. Paules whole purpose is,
" in the Epistle, to bring man unto a knowledge
" of his sinne, and to shew him how it maye
" bee remitted, and with manye testimonies
" and examples of the scripture, hee proveth
" man to be saved, only by mercy, for the me-
" rits of Christ. Which is apprehended and re-
" ceived by faith, as he at large sheweth in the
" 3, 4, and 5 chapters of the same Epistle."

He then goes on to comment on those three chapters, part of which comment has been given in the first quotation. I shall add but one quotation more from Hooper, which is taken from the 17th chapter of the same book.

" Our GOSPELLERS be better learned than
" the Holie Ghost, for they wickedly attribute
" the cause of punishment and adversitie to

* Rom. ix. 11, &c.

" God's

" God's providence, which is the cause of no
" ill, as he himselfe can doo no ill: and of everie
" mischeefe that is doone they say it was God's
" will. The Holie Ghost putteth another cause,
" that is to say: Sin in man, and contempt of
" his holie word. Further, the paine is not in-
" flicted by Predestination to loose man, but
" both predestination and the affliction extend
" to call man from damnation."

The extracts from Bishop HOOPER have been made more at large (and more might be produced from him to the same purpose) because he considers the arguments from scripture, which CALVIN makes use of, in favour of his rigid doctrine.

Moreover it may be curious to see, what great respect HOOPER paid to MELANCTHON's opinions on this subject, who is pronounced by CALVIN to be " Homo acutus et prudens, et in " scripturâ probè exercitatus;" many sentences of the above quotations having been transcribed by HOOPER from the chapter de Prædestinatione in MELANCTHON's LOCI THEOLOGICI, which the reader will immediately observe upon inspection. I shall therefore add some paragraphs out of this chapter, as well to prove the same, as for a further proof of the reverence shewed to MELANCTHON by our divines in that age.

" Semper

" Semper autem disputatum est de causâ elec-
" tionis; sicut fratres duo Cain et Abel dispu-
" târunt, cur alter alteri prelatus sit. Dispu-
" târunt item Esau et Jacob, ac plerumque hi,
" qui nihil nisi rationis aut legis doctrinam
" nôrunt, cogitant ut de judice humano, causam
" electionis legem esse, seu nostra merita et dig-
" nitatem. Sic Judæi senserunt, sic scripserunt
" plerique sententiarij. Prima est: nec ex ra-
" tione, nec ex lege judicandum est de electione,
" sed ex evangelio. Altera est: totus numerus
" salvandorum propter Christum electus est.
" Quare tertia est: non aliam justificationis, aliam
" electionis causam quæramus. Ideo Petrus est
" electus, quia est membrum Christi; sicut ideo
" justus est, id est, Deo placens, quia fide factus
" est membrum Christi. Ut igitur cùm de jus-
" tificatione loquimur, ab evangelio, seu agni-
" tione vocis evangelij ordimur; sic de electione
" dicturi, complectamur vocem evangelij: sic
" nobis judicandum est, quia à Christi agnitione
" et evangelio ordiri debemus. Quæramus ergo
" promissionem, in quâ voluntatem suam expres-
" sit Deus, et sciamus, non esse aliam voluntatem
" quærendam de gratiâ extra verbum," &c.

And again, " Causam igitur reprobationis
" certum est hanc esse, videlicet peccatum in
" hominibus, qui prorsus non audiunt nec ac-
" cipiunt

" cipiunt evangelium, aut qui abjiciunt fidem,
" antequam hinc discedunt: in his certum est
" causam esse reprobationis peccatum ipsorum,
" et humanam voluntatem. Nam verissima
" est sententia, Deum non esse causam peccati;
" nec velle peccatum. Nota est enim vox
" Psalmi: NON DEUS VOLENS INIQUITATEM TU
" ES. Et Oseæ xiii. dicitur: PERDITIO TUA
" EST ISRAEL; TANTUM IN ME AUXILIUM TUUM
" EST. Saul volens effudit spiritum sanctum,
" volens moventi spiritui sancto repugnavit.
" Hæc de causâ rejectionis, seu reprobationis,
" certa sunt; promissio enim requirit fidem.
" E contrà verò rectè dicitur, causam electionis
" esse misericordiam in voluntate Dei, * qui
" non vult perire totum genus humanum, sed
" propter filium colligit, et servat ecclesiam.
" Hoc vult Paulus, cum ix, capite ad Romanos
" citat dictum: MISEREOR CUJUS MISEREOR.
" Negat, propter legem, propter prærogativum
" generis, homines electos esse: ut fiat illustrius,
" propter filium electam et conditam esse eccle-
" siam; sed tamen in accipiente occurrère
" oportet apprehensionem promissionis, seu agni-
" tionem Christi. Nam ideò electi sumus, quia
" efficimur membra Christi. Ergò ut in justi-
" ficatione diximus, aliquam esse in accipiente
" causam, non dignitatem; sed quia promis-

* 2 Pet. iii. 9.

sionem,

" sionem apprehendit, cum quâ spiritus sanctus " simul est efficax, et Paulus inquit: FIDES " EX AUDITU EST: ita de electione a posteriori " judicamus; videlicet, haud dubiè electos esse " eos, qui misericordiam propter Christum pro- " missam fide apprehendunt, nec abjiciunt eam " fiduciam ed extremum." And afterwards he adds—" Sic cum Joan vi. dictum esset: NEMO " VENIT AD ME, NISI PATER TRAXERIT EUM; " sequitur statim: OMNIS QUI AUDIT A PATRE " ET DISCIT, VENIT AD ME. Orditur Deus et " trahit nos verbo suo et spiritu sancto; sed " audire nos oportet et discere, id est, appre- " hendere promissionem et assentiri, non repug- " nare, non indulgere diffidentiæ aut dubita- " tioni."

We may fairly ask with Bishop *Bull,—" Quis " jam non agnoscit, Hooperum nostrum ex Me- " lancthone sapuisse?"

HOOPER published his DECLARATION OF THE TEN COMMANDMENTS in 1549, and subscribed the articles, as Bishop of Gloucester, in 1552: and that his subscription was not a mere compliance with the times, but such as his conscience clearly admitted, we may well conclude from his eager struggle against the vestments which he

* Bulli, Opera, p. 680.

thought

thought he could not lawfully use; which was certainly a matter of much less consequence.

A few passages from Bishop Latimer shall be added, to shew his opinion of these rigid doctrines, and the horrid inferences the GOSPELLERS too naturally made from them.

" * Some vain fellows seeking carnal liberty, " when they read these words, MANY ARE CALL- " ED, BUT FEW ARE CHOSEN, make their reckon- " ing thus: Need I mortify my body with ab- " staining from all sin and wickedness? I perceive " God hath chosen some, and some are rejected. " Now if I be in the number of the chosen, I " cannot be damned: but if I be accounted " among the condemned number, then I cannot " be saved. For God's judgments are immutable. " Such foolish and wicked reasons some have, " which bringeth them either to DESPERATION, " or else to CARNAL LIBERTY. Therefore it is " needful to beware of such reasons, or exposi- " tions of the scripture, as it is to beware of the " devil himself."

In his sermon on the third Sunday after Epiphany, he says †,—" We read in the Apostles

* 2d. Sermon on Septuages. Sunday, p. 325.

† P. 311, 312.

(Acts

" Acts xiii. 48.) that when St. Paule had made
" a long sermon at Antioch, there beleeved (saith
" the Evangelist) as many as were ORDAINED to
" life everlasting: with the which saying a great
" number of people have been offended, and
" have said, we perceive, that onely those shall
" come to beleeve and so to everlasting life, which
" are chosen of God unto it: therefore it is no
" matter whatsoever we doe, for if we be chosen
" to everlasting life we shall have it, and so they
" have opened a doore unto themselves of all
" wickednesse and carnall liberty against the true
" meaning of the scripture. For if the most
" part be damned, the fault is not in God, but
" in themselves: for it is written, GOD WOULD
" THAT ALL MEN SHOULD BE SAVED: but they
" themselves procure their owne damnation, and
" despise the passion of Christ, by their own
" wicked and inordinate living. Heere we may
" learne to keepe us from all curious and dan-
" gerous questions, when we heare that some
" be chosen and some be damned: let us have
" good hope that we shall be amongst the
" chosen, and live after this hope, that is uprightly
" and godly, then shalt thou not be deceived.
" Think that God hath chosen those that be-
" leeve in Christ, and that Christ is the booke
" of life. If thou beleevest in him, then thou
" art written in the booke of life, and shall

" be saved. So we need not go about to trouble " ourselves with curious questions of the predes- " tination of God, but let us rather endeavour " ourselves, that we may be in Christ; for when " we be in him, then are we well, and then we " may be sure that we are ordained to everlasting " life." He afterwards goes on to shew how we may know that we are in the book of life. He asserts universal redemption in several of his sermons, and * in his sermon 23 Sunday after Trinity, he acknowledges the same in the following words :—" Christ shed as much blood for " Judas as he did for Peter, Peter believed it, " and therefore he was saved; Judas would not " believe it, and therefore he was condemned, the " fault being in him only and in nobody else."

I am tempted to make another quotation from the same sermon, on Septuages. Sunday, which was preached the year our articles were published (1552), containing a full declaration of universal redemption.

" We learn by this sentence, THAT MANY " ARE CALLED, that the preaching of the gospel " is UNIVERSAL, that it APPERTAINETH TO ALL " MANKIND, as it is written, THRO' THE WHOLE " EARTH THEIR SOUND IS HEARD. Now seeing

* P. 208.

the

" the gospel is universal, it appeareth that HE " WOULD HAVE ALL MANKIND TO BE SAVED; " AND THAT THE FAULT IS NOT IN HIM IF WE " BE DAMNED; for it is written thus, GOD " WOULD HAVE ALL TO BE SAVED, 1 Tim. ii. 4. " His salvation is SUFFICIENT TO SAVE ALL " MANKIND, but we are so wicked OF OURSELVES " that we refuse the same, and we will not take " it, when it is offered to us, and therefore he " saith, FEW ARE CHOSEN; that is, few have " pleasure or delight in it."

Thus have we seen that Calvinism did not prevail amongst our Reformers in King Edward's day, but appeared only amongst a few Gospellers, who drew consequences from it, which Calvin would willingly have guarded against; but he had lain down the premises; and notwithstanding he stopped there, and would have persuaded others to have done the same, yet the corrupt hearts of these men boldly drew the conclusion for him.

V.

THE DIFFERENCE IN OPINION ON THIS SUBJECT BETWEEN THOSE WHO WERE IMPRISONED BY QUEEN MARY, IS NEXT TO BE CONSIDERED.

We must own that in Queen Mary's days (in the year 1554) there were disputes on the

subject of predestination between the prisoners that were confined by her, who afterwards were most of them martyrs for their religion. BRADFORD wrote a short treatise on the subject, in order to quiet these disputes, which probably, as we shall see hereafter, perished with him: at least after the most diligent search, we never could learn that it was in print or preserved in manuscript. Amongst the * MARTYRS Letters there are two or three of his to particular friends upon this subject, and in one of them he gives a summary of his opinions on it, which we shall now produce; and, moreover, give some account of the reception which the above-mentioned treatise met with from his fellow-martyrs CRANMER, LATIMER, and RIDLEY.

†—" I wyll briefly write to you my faith " [in God's election] and how I think it good " and mete for a Christian man to wade in it. " I believe that man made after the image of " God, did fall from that blessed state to the con- " demnation of himself and al his posterity. I " beleeve that Christ for man being thus fallen, " did appose himself to the justice of God " A MEDIATOR, PAYING THE RAUNSOME AND

* Martyrs Letters, p. 391. 471.
† Ib. p. 409.

" PRICE

" PRICE OF REDEMPTION FOR ADAM AND HIS " WHOLE POSTERITIE, THAT REFUSE IT NOT " FINALLY. I beleve that al that beleve in Christ " (I speake of such as be of yeres of discression) " are pertakers of Christ and al his merites. I " beleve that faith, and to beleve in Christ (I " speake not now of faith that men have by rea- " son of miracles, or by reason of earthly com- " modity, custome and autority of men which " is commonly sene, the hartes of them that so " beleve beyng not right and simple before God: " but I speake of that faith which indede is the " true faythe, the justifying and regeneratyng " fayth): I beleve I say that this * fayth and " beliefe in Christe, is the work and gyft of God, " given to none other than those whych bee the " chyldren of God, that is to those whome God " the Father before the begynnynge of the " worlde hath predestinate in Christ unto eter-

* The following note is in the margin.

" For the certeyntie of this fayth search your hartes; if you " have it, prayse the Lord, for you are happy, and therefore " cannot fynally peryshe: for then happynes were not happy- " nes, if it could be lost; when you fal, the Lord wyl put " under hys hande that you shall not lye still. But if ye feele " not thys faith, then know that predestination is to hygh a " matter for you to be disputers of, untyl ye have ben better " scholers in the scholes house of repentaunce and justifica- " tion which is the grammar schole, wherein we must be " conversant and learned, before we go the University of " God's most holy predestination and providence."

" nall

" nall lyfe. Thus do I wade in predestination, in
" such sort as God hath patified and opened it.
" Though in God it be the first, yet to us it is
" last opened. And therefore I beginne wyth
" creation, from thence I come to redemption,
" so to justification, and so to election. On this
" sort I am sure that warelye and wysely a man
" may walk in it easily by the light of God's
" spirite, in and by hys worde, seying thys faith
" not to be geven to al men, 2 Thes. iii. but to
" such as are borne of God, predestinate before
" the worlde was made, after the purpose and
" good wyll of God: whiche wyll we may not
" call into disputation, but in tremblyng and
" feare submit ourselves to it as to that which
" can will none otherwise then that which is
" holy, right and good; how farre soever other-
" wyse it seme to the judgement of reason,
" whych must nedes bee beaten downe to bee
" more careful for God's glory then for man's
" salvation, which dependeth onelye thereon, as
" all God's chyldren full well see; for they seeke
" not the glorye whych commeth of men, but
" the glorye whych commeth of God: Jerem.
" ix. John 5. They knowe God to bee a God
" which dothe on earthe not onely mercy but
" also judgement, which is justyce and most
" justyce, although our folishe reason cannot
" see it. And in this knowledge they glory and
" rejoyce,

" rejoice, thoughe others, through vayne curio-
" sity, grudch and murmure there agaynst.
" Thus briefly I have sent you my mynd and
" meaning concernyng thys matter."

From this summary of Bradford's opinions upon this subject, it appears, that he had not embraced Calvin's rigid doctrines; for he asserts universal redemption through Christ to Adam and all his posterity, that refuse it not finally, and he recommends in another * letter something for man to do on his part in the work of his salvation.—" Let them tremble and feare
" that may not away with the glory of the Lo
" in election and reprobation. Let not t
" eyes be evil because God is good and
" good to whom it pleaseth him: wro ng
" to no man, nor can do, for then he
" righteous, and so no God. He c
" demne the just, for then were h
" cause his word is contrary. F
" demne the penitent and be
" were against his promise. Let us therefore
" laboure, studie, crye and p raye for repentance
" and fayth, and then cannot we be damned, be-
" cause we are the blessed o f the Father before
" all worldes, and therefore we believe, there-

* Martyrs Letters, 1 2, 399.

" fore

" fore we repent. And for asmuch as it pertayn-
" eth to us which be within, to see and spake of
" those things which are given unto us of God
" in Christe: let us laboure hereaboutes; and
" leave them that be withoute to the Lorde,
" which will judge them in hys tyme." How far BRADFORD's doctrine, in this letter and the others referred to above, is consistent in all its parts, it is not my business to enquire. That his assertion of universal redemption and of our election in and by Christ, and his earnest exhortation, just now quoted, are not consistent with Calvin's doctrine, is evident: for he never takes into his account of our election, the merits and death of Christ, and reprobation he resolves into the sole will of God, as * we have seen above.

We have mentioned above, that BRADFORD had written a treatise on God's election. This he sent to CRANMER, RIDLEY, and LATIMER, while prisoners in Oxford, and with it a † letter subscribed R. FERRAR, R. TAYLOR, J. BRADFORD, J. PHILPOT. BRADFORD, in his letter to the three bishops, says, ‡ " Here withall I send unto you a little
" treatise whiche I have made, that you (RID-
" LEY) might peruse the same; and not only

* Page 9. † Martyrs Letters, p. 357.
‡ Ib. p. 358. and Strype's Life of Crammer, app. p. 195.

" you,

" you, but also ye my other most deare and re-
" verent Fathers in the Lord for ever (meaning
" CRANMER and LATIMER) to give to it your
" approbation as ye may think good. All the
" prisoners hereaboutes, in manner, have sene
" it and red it, and as therein they agree with
" me, nay rather with the truth: so they are
" ready and will be to signifie it as they shal
" see you give them example. The matter may
" be thought not so necessary as I seme to
" make it. But yet if ye knew the great evil
" that is like hereafter to come to the posteritie
" by these men, as partly this bringer can signi-
" fie unto you: surely then could ye not but
" be most willing to put thereto your helping
" handes."

In the same letter, after giving an account of the principles of the men, which his treatise was designed to guard against, he adds, " As to the
" chiefe captaynes therfore of Christes church
" here, I complayne of it unto you: as truelye
" I muste doe of you even unto God in the
" laste daye, yf ye wyll not as ye can, helpe
" somethyng (ut veritas doctrinæ maneat apud
" posteros) in this behalf, as ye have done on
" the behalfe of matters expugned by the pa-
" pistes." By the way it may be proper to observe, that the manner in which BRADFORD expresses

expresses himself here, will not justify a late writer in his observation, * " That he (BRAD-" FORD) would not have written to these bishops, " unless he had been assured their sentiments " corresponded with his own."

Let us see what bishop RIDLEY says, in answer to BRADFORD. But it must be remembered, that his answer plainly shews there was another letter of BRADFORD's posterior to that quoted above, which is not in the collection of the Martyrs letters: for he had complained to the bishop of many heresies being broached amongst these men; whereas they are not mentioned in the first letter. Now the bishop in answer says,—" † And where you say, THAT IF " YOUR REQUEST HAD BEEN HEARD, THINGS " (YOU THINKE) HAD BEEN IN BETTER CASE " THAN THEY BE: know you that concerning " the matter you meane, I have in Latin drawne " out the places of the scriptures, and upon " the same have noted what I can for the time. " Syr, in those matters I am so fearful, that I " dare not speak farther, yea almost none other-" wise than the very texte dothe (as it wer) lead " me by the hand." COVERDALE, who pub-

* Goliath slain, p. 99.
† Martyr's Letters, p. 64.

lished

lished these letters in 1564, notes in the margin, —" He meaneth the matter of God's election."

In the quotation from Ridley's letter, these words ["AND WHERE YOU SAY, THAT IF YOUR "REQUEST HAD BEEN HEARD," &c) plainly imply that the three bishops had not given their sanction to BRADFORD's treatise. Most probably they thought he had gone too far; which might occasion RIDLEY's taking up the subject, which he expresses his fearfulness in handling. No such words being in BRADFORD's letter that is published, gives sufficient grounds to assert there was a second, which is lost. The occasion of it was plainly the bishops refusing their sanction to his treatise; this made the good man complain of a number of heresies being broached, of which he took no notice in his first, and add that upbraiding sentence noted above. He afterwards speaks with great moderation on the subject of election and predestination, in a letter to R. COLE, in these words—* "We have all one Fa- "ther, we are all brethren, God kepe us from "dissention. If we cannot agree in all poyntes, "eyther the poyntes perchaunce be not so ne- "cessarye, or elles by love we shall hereafter bee "brought to see that which yet is hidde."

* Martyrs Letters, p. 411.

Again

Again, in a letter to certain men not rightly persuaded in the doctrine of election and predestination, written about five months before his martyrdom, he thus informs them,—"* Hither- " to I have not suffered any copye of the trea- " tise above specified to go abroade, because I " woulde suppresse all occasions so farre as " myghte be" [of any breach of love.]

From these premises it may fairly be concluded, that CRANMER, RIDLEY, and LATIMER did not give their sanction to BRADFORD's treatise on election; otherwise he would not have been so wary, as not to have sent it abroad, if he had obtained the approbation of those three holy martyrs. Their authority would have added so much weight to his opinions, (which he maintained to the last, though with moderation), that he could not have failed urging it upon his opponents.

BRADFORD's treatise seems by the above account to be entirely suppressed by him, though his opinions on this subject, in some of his letters, still remain: and RIDIEY, if he ever compleated what he informs BRADFORD he had begun, is entirely lost to the public.

* Martyrs Letters, p. 473.

This

This account of BRADFORD, with what passed between him, CRANMER, RIDLEY, and LATIMER, bring it to a certainty that our article could not be framed upon the principles of CALVIN. Would not BRADFORD, if that had been the case, have urged the article to CRANMER and RIDLEY, (by way of argumentum ad hominem) upon their refusing to give their testimony to his treatise, which contained doctrines so much more moderate than CALVIN's? Could RIDLEY have declared his fearfulness, as above, of speaking on this subject, if he had concurred with CRANMER in drawing the article upon CALVIN's system? and that he was not unmindful of the articles, appears soon after in his last farewell to all his faithful friends in God, where he thus recognises them.—" Thys * churche had in " matters of controversye, articles so penned and " framed after the holye scripture, and grounded " upon the true understandyng of God's worde, " that in short tyme, yf they hadde bene uni- " versally receyved, they should have beene able " to have sette in Christes church, muche con- " corde and unitye in Christes true religion, " and to have expelled manye false erroures and " heresyes, wherewyth thys churche (alas!) was " almoste overgone." Upon the whole we may

* Martyrs Letters, p. 85.

conclude

conclude in the words of * FELTHAM in his answer to WILLIAM JOHNSON the Jesuit, who charges the Protestants thus,—" Do not Pro-" testants derogate from God's glory, making " him the author of sin, and that he predesti-" nates men to eternal death by his only will, " without any fault?" Referring in the margin to several places in CALVIN's Institutes. To which FELTHAM replies,—" For † predestina-" tion you urge CALVIN. But, Sir, the church " of England is not bound to his tenets, nor do " I hold my faith from him, but from my " blessed Saviour and his Apostles. Let it suf-" fice, I hold man fallen to be the subject of " predestination. I believe no man saved but " by God's mercy: no man damned but by his " own default."

THE CONCLUSION.

The several periods of time proper to be considered, in order to give a full history of our XVII[th] Article, and the doctrine it contains, are—First, the period immediately preceding the Reformation.—Secondly, the commencement of the Reformation under Henry VIII.—Thirdly,

* Feltham's Resolves, fol. p. 77.

† Ib. p. 81.

the

the progress made in it during the time of Edward VI.—Fourthly, the completion of it in Elizabeth's time.—And fifthly, the several struggles with regard to this doctrine, during the reigns of James I. and Charles I.

The learned * Dean of Gloucester has considered the first period, and, by way of consequence, "lays it down as a most solemn truth, "that at the time just preceding the Reforma- "tion, the church of Rome, in respect to pre- "destination, grace, freewill, and perseverance, "was truly Calvinistical." He has likewise stated both sides of the questions relating to the FIVE POINTS, and compared them severally with the public offices of the church of England, in her liturgy; and clearly evinced, that in them she has given no countenance to the Calvinistical sense of them.

These papers are confined to the times of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. The first notice that is taken of the rigid doctrine of predestination is in the NECESSARY DOCTRINE, &c. where it is carefully guarded against, by establishing a different doctrine. This work was a publick act of the church at that time,

* Dean Tucker in his letters to Dr. Kippis, p. 81, &c.

con-

confirmed by act of Parliament. The same persons that were concerned at this period of the Reformation, were the principal agents in the more happy one of Edward VI. Here the work went on with the full concurrence of the Crown. The articles, homilies, and liturgy were now framed and established. CRANMER was the great superintender of the whole. The articles were principally his work, aided and assisted with the learning and abilities of RIDLEY. The article under consideration was first suggested to them by MELANCTHON, and the shocking consequences drawn from the rigid doctrine by the GOSPELLERS here, made it more immediately necessary to be taken notice of in the confession drawn up for the use of the church of England. The XVII^th^ Article therefore was intended as a guard both against their doctrine and the consequences they drew from it. The moderation with which it was drawn is admirable. Calvin was now carrying on the Reformation with great vigour, and at the same time establishing his doctrine of the divine decrees with no less. His great use in lowering the power of the church of Rome, and forwarding the Reformation, obliged our Reformers to exercise their usual moderation in framing this article. They define the doctrine in the words of scripture, without any comment

ment of their own; with great address distinguish out two different senses of the doctrine; show us the way how we are to judge ourselves included under the one, and point out the fatal consequences of the other; and at last refer us to God's promises as generally set forth in the holy scripture, and direct us to the proper rule of our lives and conversation.

Concurrent with the Articles the Reformation of the Ecclesiastical Laws was carried on. CRANMER was at the head of this work likewise. After laying down the positive doctrines of the gospel, the REFORMATIO LEGUM proceeds to guard against the heresies. Several of these are particularly mentioned. Amongst the rest the rigid doctrine of predestination, with the consequences drawn from it, has a place. Here the whole is more explicit than in the article. By the manner of drawing up this chapter, it appears that our Reformers were more intent upon guarding against the fatal consequences of this doctrine than in delivering one of their own. In short, it is probable that they were more particular in this Digest of the Ecclesiastical Laws, as it was intended for the internal regimen of the church; whereas the articles were considered not only in that light, but as a declaration to the church of Rome, and the rest of the Christian world, that

when we threw off her yoke, we professed the doctrine of the Gospel.

Both before and during the time of drawing up the Articles and Ecclesiastical Laws, LATIMER and HOOPER, in their popular discourses, were guarding the people against the rigid doctrine and its fatal consequences.—Last of all, when BRADFORD, in consequence of the disputes amongst the prisoners in Queen Mary's time drew up a state of this doctrine to be laid before them, and applied to CRANMER, RIDLEY, and LATIMER to give their sanction to it: these three bishops refused to sign it, judging, no doubt, that he had gone to far.

Upon the whole, it cannot be imagined, that our Article was drawn up agreeable to the principles of CALVIN.

The last period, under the reigns of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I. is fully considered by the learned * Dr. Waterland. During this period many of our divines having, under Queen Mary's persecution, been thrown into the bosom of CALVIN;—and in James's time the remarkable transactions at the synod of Dort happening;—

* Supplement to Arian Subscription, p. 43, &c.

and

and lastly, during the reign of Charles, the Calvinistical principles having taken deep root amongst us, and these adopted by many of the leaders in the civil factions of the time: all these together introduced many subtilties and distinctions into this subject, which were unknown to the simplicity of our Reformers.

During this period the Calvinists were so little satisfied, that our Articles came up to their Doctrines, that they were frequently calling for additions to them, to make them speak agreeably to their minds.

FINIS.

PAPERS

ASCERTAINING THE

REIGN AND TIME

IN WHICH THE

DECLARATION

BEFORE THE

XXXIX ARTICLES

WAS FIRST PUBLISHED.

PAPERS, &c.

THE occasion of drawing up the following papers will appear below. They were communicated to the learned writer * of the three Letters to the author of the CONFESSIONAL, who has given an abridgment of them in his postscript to his third Letter. This was thought sufficient to ascertain the author of the Declaration before the Articles, and the papers were accordingly thrown by as of no farther use. But in fact the abridgment has not had that effect, and therefore it was thought proper to produce at full length the testimonies which prove it to be by Charles I. several writers having lately attributed it to James I. The matter it is true is of no great consequence, yet being a point of ecclesiastical history, though of an inferior kind, it was thought worth the settling, as two considerable writers had expressed their

* Dr. Glocester Ridley.—Editors.

desire

desire that it might be done. This gave some importance to it. But the author of the Confessional, with another later writer, having found out, one of them from the " quibbling and " equivocal terms in which the DECLARATION " was drawn, the distress of James divided " between his principles and his interest;" and the other, "That it is as formal as the rescript " of a Roman emperor; which character King " James chuses to take as a model." These remarks have given an additional importance to the question. It may be cruel perhaps to awake them out of their pleasing dream, but let not poor James have more laid upon him than he is entitled to. A noble writer had done the same before them. He had found out the temper of Dean Swift, from his reckoning Cato the CENSOR, who was an usurer, amongst his sextumvirate. It is true, Swift had mentioned Cato the YOUNGER expressly. However the thought was pretty, and the noble writer was never prevailed upon to part with it for so small a mistake. The author of the CONFESSIONAL willingly in this instance copies from his superiors; he has printed a third edition of his work, since his generous adversary so obligingly communicated to him the intelligence they were both desirous of receiving, without making one alteration, in the many pages he had

had spent upon the Declaration, and still declares is to be * MORE GENERALLY BELIEVED TO HAVE BEEN FIRST PUBLISHED BY KING JAMES I.

The author of the CONFESSIONAL, p. 131. second edit. note, says, " It is not easy to suppose but there must be some printed copy of this DECLARATION still extant, of sufficient antiquity to ascertain, whether it was originally set out by king James I. or Charles I. And it were to be wished, that if any gentleman hath such antient copy in his custody, he would favour the public with an account of it. On the other hand, it were next to incredible, that if any such had been easily to be found, two such men as Bishop Burnet, and Dr. Nichols should differ so widely in their accounts of it. The former ascribes this DECLARATION to Charles, the latter to James."

The worthy writer of the Letters to the Author of the CONFESSIONAL, p. 145, of the second Letter says,—" But I agree, Sir, with you in wishing that any one, who is able, would further clear up the point."

I think I can demonstrate to these two gentlemen, from the books within my own study,

* Confessional, 3d edit. p. 132.

that

that the Declaration in question is by Charles I. not James I.

I shall begin my authorities with authors that were contemporaries with Charles I.

Dr. HAMMOND, on God's Grace and Decrees, vol. 1st of his works, p. 670. sect. 24. says,—"This I suppose is the reason both of our "churches moderation in framing the article of "Predestination, and of our LATE KING'S DE-"CLARATION in silencing the debate of the ques-"tions." This work was first printed in 1659.

PRYNNE, in his CANTERBURIE'S DOOME, p. 160. charging archbishop Laud with quelling the Anti-Arminian party, adds—"To which "end he procured his Majesty by a printed DE-"CLARATION PREFIXED TO THE XXXIX AR-"TICLES, compiled by himself and other bi-"shops, of which the most part were Armini-"ans."—He then quotes a large part of the DECLARATION, and adds—"That this DECLA-"RATION was made by this bishop's instigation "and procurement, and so generally reputed, "not only at home but abroad, is evident by this "passage of Dr. Baron's letter of Aberdeen—"found in the archbishop's study." He then quotes a passage from it, complimenting the archbishop

bishop for putting an end to the dispute concerning predestination. This is mentioned under the year 1628.

ARCHBISHOP LAUD's speech in the Star Chamber against Bastwick, Burton and Prynne, 14 June 1637, published in the second vol. of his Remains, by H. Wharton.

In this speech the archbishop produces, from an epistle to the temporal lords, the following charge—" The prelates, to justifie their proceed-" ings, have forged a new article of religion " brought from Rome, (which gives them full " power to alter the doctrine and disipline of the " church at a blow) and have foisted it into the " beginning of the 20th article of our church. " And this is in the last edition of the articles, anno " 1628, in affront of HIS MAJESTY'S DECLA-" RATION BEFORE THEM," &c. To this charge the ARCHBISHOP'S reply in part is—') But for the " articles of the church of England, made in the " Queen's time, and now in force, that this " clause for the power of the church to decree " ceremonies, and to have authority in contro-" versies of faith, should not be found in English " or Latin copies till the year 1628, that it was " set forth with the KING'S DECLARATION before " it, is to me a miracle, but your lordships shall " see the falshood and boldness of these men."

The

The second letter to the author of the Confessional, (p. 146, n.) takes notice of the DECLARATION being inserted by HEYLIN in his life of Laud, giving some account of the reason why king Charles I. made it, and that Laud advised it. He might have added that he refers to the BIBLIOTHECA REGIA, (in the margin, p. 178. ed. 1671.) a collection of some of the works of the king made by Heylin, and first published in 1649. (See Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. p. 282.) In these remains of the king, the DECLARATION is published as by Charles I.—Heylin, in his Historia Quinque-Articularis (p. 110. 2d part) says,—"Nor shall I now take notice of his Majesty's "proclamation of the 14th of June, anno 1626 "—or of the DECLARATION prefixed before "the book of Articles in the year 1628—or finally of his Majesty's instructions, bearing "date Dec. 30, 1629, for causing the contents "of the DECLARATION to be put in execution, "and punctually observed for the time to come."

Dr. John PEARSON (bishop of Chester) was likewise a contemporary.—He, in his answer to Dr. Burges,—in vindication of his NO NECESSITY OF REFORMATION, &c. republished in a collection of tracts in 1709, which is called Bibliotheca Scriptorum Eccl. Angl. p. 379, has this paragraph—"As for "your

" your expression of the DECLARATION fathered
" on the late King, it seemeth to me much
" more improper (than what he had objected
" before to the expression,—theQueen's majesty
" hath the supreme power,—being still retained
" in the articles) I believe you cannot prove, but
" that DECLARATION was his own, as much as
" any other declaration was his or any king's.
" And for a subject to speak so of his king, or
" to judge and declare what declaration is his,
" and what not, is certainly at least very im-
" proper. This pious king and blessed martyr
" was too often thus used, but never, that I know,
" by any that professed themselves so daring to
" assert his royal supremacy as you do. His de-
" clarations were denyed to be his, through as-
" serted, framed, penned by himself: his book
" denyed to be his, though none could pen it
" but himself: he was denyed to have declared,
" what he did constantly profess; to have written
" what he wrote; to have spoken what he spake;
" and at last sure some will deny him to have suf-
" fered what he endured."

PLAIFERE, in his Appeal to the Gospel, which was written probably soon after the DECLARATION came forth, gives the following testimonies.

" Moreover the King's most excellent Majesty
" THAT NOW IS, in his DECLARATION, com-
manding

" manding that all further search be laid aside,
" willeth that these disputes be shut up in God's
" promises, as they be generally set forth unto us
" in the holy scripture."

And in another place he says, that we are to arrive at the meaning of the Articles,—" By ana-
" lysing the propositions, and scanning the literal
" and grammatical sense, to which we are bound
" to keep us, both by the law of learning, and by
" the DECLARATION OF KING CHARLES PRE-
" FIXED TO OUR ARTICLES."—Tracts concerning Predestination, &c. Cambridge, 1719, p, 201. 209.

The last contemporary evidence I shall produce is King Charles's own. In his declaration, signifying the causes which moved him to dissolve the parliament 10 March 1628, is the following passage, " We found in the first place that much
" exception had been taken at a book entitled,
" APPELLO CÆSAREM, or an Appeal to Cæsar, and
" published in the year 1625 by Richard Mon-
" tague, then batchelor of divinity, and now Bi-
" shop of Chichester; and because it did open
" the way to those schisms and divisions, which
" have since ensued in the church, we did, for
" remedy and redress thereof, and for the satis-
" faction of the consciences of our good people,
" not only by our public proclamation call in

that

" that book, which ministered matter of offence;
" but to prevent the like danger for hereafter,
" reprinted the articles of religion, established in
" the time of Queen Elizabeth, of famous me-
" mory: and by a DECLARATION BEFORE THOSE
" ARTICLES, we did tie and restrain all opinions
" to the sense of those Articles, that nothing
" might be left for private fancies and innova-
" tions, &c."—Rushworth's Collections, vol. 1. Append. p. 4. and Andrew Marvell's Rehearsal transposed, p. 174.

I now proceed to authors of later date.

COLLIER in his Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii, p. 746. gives the DECLARATION at large, as by King Charles I. and tells us the occasion of it.

BINGHAM, in his French Church's Apology, &c. (works, vol. ii. fol. p. 744.) mentions the Declaration as by Charles I. and defends it well.

KENNET, in his History of England, vol. 3. 2d edit. p. 50. speaks of the King's late DECLARATION prefixed to the XXXIX Articles.—This is under the year 1628.

PULLER (in his Moderation of the Church of England, p. 131.) calls it King Charles's, though he is mistaken, as Bishop Pearson is, as to the year

year in which it was published. This mistake is probably accounted for by Bennet in his Essay on the XXXIX Articles, p. 366.

Bennet, in his Essay, &c. p. 13. note 35.—Instead of these words in the title of the Articles —" Put foorth by the Queene's aucthoritie"—read as follows—" Reprinted by his Majesties " commandment, with his Royal Declara " tion prefixed thereunto." Then follow the King's arms, and afterwards these words,—" London, printed by Bonham Norton and John " Bill, printers to the King's most excellent " Majestie, 1628."—Again, p. 366. He tells us, " he collated two copies of these Articles, " one of which was in St. John's library, Cam- " bridge." See likewise, p. 6.

The author of the second Letter, p. 143. mentions, that he had seen one in Lambeth library.

Neal (in his History of the Puritans, 8vo. 1773, vol. 2. p. 188.) calls the Declaration King Charles's, and he pretends to give us a copy of it, but in different parts has left out full half of it, and then cries out, as well he might at his own work—" Surely there was never such a " confused, unintelligible Declaration printed.' —Z. Grey, in his examination of Neal's History

tory has given us the DECLARATION, and marked the parts omitted by Neal, vol. 1. p. 100.

ANTHONY COLLINS (in his Hist. and Crit. Essay on the XXXIX Articles, Introduction p. 26.) says,—" In 1628, an edition of the articles " was published in English, with the famous " DECLARATION of King Charles I. prefixed be- " fore them. Which edition and Declaration " were owing to Laud."

SPARROW (in his Collection of Articles, &c. 1661.) gives the Articles as reprinted by King Charles I. with his ROYAL DECLARATION prefixed thereunto. He is mistaken in the year, making them to be printed in 1630, which may be accounted for in the same manner in which Bennet accounts for Bishop Pearson's mistake. Puller probably implicitly followed Sparrow; his Moderation, &c. being published in the year 1679.

The author of the Confessional seems to speak as if he thought the DECLARATION was published in the form of a Proclamation on a single sheet; but the DECLARATION tells us, that the King " commanded the Articles to be new print- " ed, and THIS OUR DECLARATION to be pub- " lished therewith."

It appears from the premises that this DECLA-

RATION was prefixed to the articles reprinted by Charles I. in the year 1628. That this DECLARATION is not a republication of one made by James I. is clearly to be evinced from the very words of the DECLARATION.—" We have, there-" fore, upon mature deliberation, and with the " advice of so many of our bishops as might be " conveniently called together, thought fit to " make THIS DECLARATION following."

The only authorities, that I know of, (except three or four late writers) for attributing this DECLARATION to James I. are Dr. Nicholls, Bishop Gibson, Dr. Burn, a writer quoted by Bishop Atterbury, and Bishop Hoadly.—ATTERBURY (in his Rights of Convocation, 2d edit. p. 460.) quotes a passage from an author, under the initial letters L. M. P. who makes James I. in his DECLARATION before the articles declare, &c. The Bishop replies,—" If James declared this, he de-" clared it some years after he was in his grave, " for the DECLARATION meant came not out " till 1628."

HOADLY likewise calls it the DECLARATION of James I. Dr. Waterland, who quotes his words, corrects him thus, (read Charles I.) see ARIAN SUBSCRIPTION, p. 39.

The Author of the Confessional (p. 142. 3d edit.

edit. note) observes, " That the Declaration " which Dr. Nicholls ascribes to King Charles I. " cites the bishop of Chester's judgment con- " cerning the wisdom and moderation of the " church of England; of which bishop and his " judgment, there is not the least mention in " the DECLARATION now prefixed to the Arti- " cles, which Dr. Nicholls, and I think rightly, " ascribes to King James."

The writer of the second letter, in answer to the Confessional, accounts very well for Dr. Nicholls; whose MS. he says, was inaccurate, and the Editor had patched it up. The Doctor quotes two parts of the DECLARATION. One of which ends thus.—" MOST MEN OF ALL SORTS TAKE " THE ARTICLES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND " TO BE FOR THEM."—then adds what he says concerning the bishop of Chester. Afterwards he begins a second quotation from the same, which he introduces with these words,—" And again," —" IN THESE CURIOUS AND UNHAPPY DIFFER- " ENCES, &c." The Editor taking the whole to be a quotation from the DECLARATION, printed it in italics; whereas if he had printed in a roman character what he delivers as the judgment of the bishop of Chester, it would have appeared to have been no part of the Declaration, as the two passages above manifestly are.

Since

Since I made this conjecture, it occurred to me, that the bishop of Chester, mentioned by Dr. Nicholls, might be Bishop Pearson. Upon consulting his * No Necessity of Reformation, &c. I immediately found the passage quoted by the doctor. I shall give the whole passage from Dr. Nicholls in such a manner, as clearly to point out Pearson's words from those of the Declaration.

" If † even in those curious points, in " which the present differences lie, most " men of all sorts take the Articles of " the church of England for them," then may be inferred, what the Right Reverend Bishop of Chester hath said,—[" This ‡ rather gives " testimony of the great wisdom and moderation " of the church, which in points doubtful and " controverted, hath propounded only that which " no sober man can make matter of doubt, " or subject of controversy."]—And again, —" In these curious and unhappy dif- " ferences, &c." The doctor goes on with

* See Bibl. Script. Eccl. Angl. p. 343, where this Tract is republished: it first appeared in 1660.

† Dr. N. is inaccurate in two places of this quotation, but I have given it as it is printed in his work.

‡ Bishop Pearson's words.

his

his quotation from the Declaration to the end of the sentence.

The next authorities for assigning the DECLARATION to James I. are Bishop GIBSON and Dr. BURN. But I shall consider them only as one: the latter, in this instance, copying only from the former.

In the CODEX, p. 325, (vol. i. edit. 1761. note) the Bishop says,—" This body of articles " —was not only passed in Convocation, and " confirmed by royal authority in the year 1562; " but was also ratified anew, first by Queen Eli- " zabeth, and afterwards by King James I." He then gives us Queen Elizabeth's Confirmation, and afterwards King James's, which he makes to be the DECLARATION now standing before the articles, and gives it at full length.—The good Bishop is undoubtedly mistaken. That King James I. ratified the articles, as well as Queen Elizabeth, is certain; but it was by ratifying the canons made 1603. My authority is as follows.

Lord COKE, in his 4th Institute (p. 323. edit. 1648.) says—" Subscription required by the " clergy is twofold; one by force both of an " act of parliament confirming and establishing " the XXXIX articles of religion agreed upon

at

" at a convocation of the church of England,
" and ratified by Queen Elizabeth under the
" great seal of England. Another by canons
" made at a convocation of the church of Eng-
" land, and ratified by King James as is afore-
" said."

" By the act of 13 Eliz. c. 12. referring to
" canons made by the clergy of England at a
" convocation holden at London in ann. dom.
" 1562, containing XXXIX articles of religion,
" and ratified as is aforesaid."

" The other is by * canons of the church of
" England made and ratified by King James, as
" is aforesaid."

Before I take my leave, I must make a few observations on a note in the last edition of the CONFESSIONAL, which concerns part of the contents of this said DECLARATION. It is pleasant enough to observe what kind of evidence will convince this writer, when he has a mind to be convinced. Even one and the same individual, giving evidence on both sides of the question, shall produce a conviction in his mind next to that of Demonstration itself. In consequence of this he

* Marg. Note ——" At a convocation begun at London,
" Anno Domini 1603, 1 James."

brings

brings a charge of forgery at large, calculated, as he says, for the deception of after-times: in hopes, no doubt, that it will apply somehow to the church of England.

This author, who appears now to be the writer likewise of the OCCASIONAL REMARKS, has declared war against the innocent words NOW and ALREADY, contained in these passages of the DECLARATION—" Shall concern the settled con-" tinuance of the doctrine and discipline of " the church of England NOW established."—" Other than is ALREADY established in convo-" cation with our royal assent." Not finding the word NOW in Heylin's copy of the DECLARATION in his Life of Laud, the REMARKER conjectured, that it was probably inserted into Sparrow's Collection of Articles, &c. " to accom-" modate matters to the act of uniformity in " 1662." He was told by way of answer, that " the conjecture was ingenious, but, unluckily, " the first edition of Sparrow's Collection, which " reads NOW established, came out the year be-" fore the act of Uniformity was passed." In the last edition of the CONFESSIONAL, the author takes up this matter again in a pretty serious note of some pages, (edit. 3, p. 134). Here he says; —" We now honourably acquit Dr. Sparrow, of " that mainœuvre, and must be content to leave " the

" the true author of the forgery in his conceal-
" ment." A very gracious exertion of his prero-
gative! but he goes on.—" For that a FOR-
" GERY it is, appears indisputably from internal
" tokens, as well as from the circumstances
" above-mentioned." He then gives us his in-
ternal tokens. He assures us in the beginning
of the note,—" That the word NOW (as far as
" may be judged from evidence next to demon-
" strative) was not in the original DECLARA-
" TION, but a mere interpolation, craftily enough
" calculated for the deception of after-times."
Let us now hear the authority upon which this
EVIDENCE NEXT TO DEMONSTRATIVE is founded.
The author, to shew that he is not averse to au-
thority, when he thinks it makes for him, con-
descends to use that of Peter Heylin, and him
only; a man whom he had before declared
(p. 165 of the Confessional) to be " lost to all
" sense of truth and modesty, whenever the inte-
" rests or claims of the church came in ques-
" tion." But how does Heylin's evidence
come out? Why, in his Life of Laud he gives
the DECLARATION without the words NOW and
ALREADY, and in his edition of the king's
works, (the BIBLIOTHECA REGIA) the DECLA-
RATION is likewise inserted with the words
NOW and ALREADY. Thus, all this evidence
comes, as he observes, from the same " INDIVI-
DUAL

DUAL PETER HEYLIN." That subtle weigher of evidence, Mr. Hume, would have told him, that the scales should have continued even, instead of weighing down with EVIDENCE NEXT TO DEMONSTRATIVE.

Thus stand the circumstances of this pleasant note. The writer should have an exclusive patent for making such for the future. The author, like a certain stumbling animal, seldom recovers from one trip but he immediately makes another. He acquits Bishop Sparrow from accommodating the DECLARATION to the act of Uniformity, but now rises in his verdict, and declares the words NOW and ALREADY to be a FORGERY, by persons unknown, with an evil intent.

In truth, both Sparrow's accommodation and the subsequent charge of FORGERY, are equally founded in truth. The original DECLARATION before the republished articles in 1628, has the words NOW and ALREADY in the passages above recited. This I can assure him from the best authority. And since he seems tolerably reconciled to the "* PROFLIGATE" Peter Heylin, and has taken, pro hâc vice, this "FIREBRAND" into his

* Confessional, 3d edit. p. 326, note.

I bosom;

bosom; I will venture to refer him to the original DECLARATION in the Lambeth library, where he may have the same assurance; in hopes that he may not entertain that aversion to the place, which he has shewn to many of its worthy inhabitants.

FINIS.

T. CURSON HANSARD, PRINTER, PETERBOROUGH COURT, FLEET-STREET.

No. III.

THE

CHURCHMAN's REMEMBRANCER:

BEING

A COLLECTION OF SCARCE AND VALUABLE TREATISES

IN DEFENCE OF THE TRULY PRIMITIVE

DOCTRINES AND DISCIPLINE

OF THE

ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

---

nquire, I pray thee, of the former age, and prepare thyself to the search of their fathers: For we are but of yesterday, and know nothing.—Job, viii. 8, 9.

Ο παλαιος χρηστοτερος εστιν. Luc. 5. 39.

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1803.

A

SUMMARY VIEW

OF THE

DOCTRINE

OF

JUSTIFICATION.

BY

DANIEL WATERLAND, D.D.

LATE CHAPLAIN IN ORDINARY TO HIS MAJESTY.

ADVERTISEMENT.

IF it were needful for the Editors of the Churchman's Remembrancer to assign a reason for having given the ensuing Tract the preference before many others they have it in contemplation to re-publish; its connection with the two Sermons on Regeneration, re-edited by them a year ago, as a specimen of their intended collection, might be pointed out. To these Sermons the learned Author expressly states, that he designed it as an "Appendage or Supplement;" and a Supplement ought to appear whilst the work it is intended to complete is fresh in the recollection. But the observation prefixed to the former Treatise applies equally to this; its *Title* sufficiently accounts for the early attention it has received—Justification being a term to the full as important, as little understood, and as indecently bandied about

in

in these our days, as Regeneration; and no where perhaps so satisfactorily cleared of all its difficulties, so accurately defined, or rendered so perspicuous and intelligible, as by Dr. Waterland, in the Tract now reproduced, and recommended to public attention.

It is not indeed so scarce as the former Treatise, having been annexed to the second volume of the Author's Sermons, and thus preserved from that neglect which the other has experienced. But even these volumes, it is to be feared, rarely fall into the hands of young Students in Divinity, for whose benefit the present work was chiefly undertaken: and should some chance to have them in possession, so little is there of the spirit of investigation in the present age, that the probability is, it would escape their observation, unless particularly pointed out. And though Justification is indeed one of those *deep questions* in Divinity into which it would be well if young Students would not too curiously enquire, it being time enough to make that the object of their researches when they are established in the *principles* of the doctrine

doctrine of Christ: yet so industrious are those who corrupt this doctrine, in insinuating into the minds of the inexperienced their own vain conceits, that it is become of consequence, in some measure, to depart from this orderly course of instruction, in order to give truth the advantage of the first impression, and to put the persons in question in possession of clear ideas before the subtleties of error have bewildered their understandings. The re-publication then of the ensuing Tract will be accepted, it is hoped, as a good service rendered to the Church; and though exceedingly compendious in itself, it will be found, upon the subject of which it treats, to open to the laborious enquirer the sources of the most extensive information.

A SUMMARY VIEW

OF THE

DOCTRINE

OF

JUSTIFICATION.

THE doctrinal points of *Regeneration* and *Renovation* have been lately brought upon the carpet; and I have, upon another occasion, taken the liberty to throw in some few thoughts upon them. Now, the subject of *Justification*, being nearly allied to the former, and seeming also to want some farther illustrating, by way of appendage or supplement to the points before-mentioned; my present design is to give you a *summary view* of it, by considering,

I. What the *name* imports.

II. What the *thing* contains.

III. How it stands *distinguished* from *renovation* and *regeneration.*

IV. What are the *concurring causes* on *God's* part, and on *man's*, to produce it, and to preserve it.

V. What are the common *extremes* which many have been apt to run into on this head, and how they may be avoided.

I.

The *first* article is the *name*, which ought to be *defined* before the thing; and, in order thereto, must be first *distinguished.*

There appears to be sufficient ground in *scripture* for distinguishing *justification* into *active* and *passive:* for, as the name *Regeneration*, when denoting an *act* or *grant* of *God*, bears an *active* sense, and when denoting a *privilege* received by *us*, bears a *passive* sense; such also is the case with respect to the name *Justification.* It means either *God's grant*, for it is *God* that *justifies** ; or it means *our privilege, endowment,*

* Rom. iii. 25, 26, 30. iv. 5. viii. 33. Gal. iii. 8. Tit. iii. 7. Rom. iv. 25. v. 18. *N. B.* In the two last texts, the word for *justification* is Δικαίωσις, which bears an *active* sense.

possession

possession holden of God *, as we are said to be *justified* by him. *Justification* always supposes *two parties*, one to *give*, and another to *receive*; whether *without any act* at all on the *receptive* side, as in the case of *infants*, or whether *accompanied* with *receptive acts*, as in the case of *adults*, who may be properly said to *accept* and *assent* to, as well as to receive or enjoy. God, the supreme law-giver, may be considered either as a *rector* and *governor contracting* with *man*, and laying down the *terms* of his *covenant*; or as a *judge*, giving *sentence* according to the *terms laid down*. Correspondently, *man* may be considered either as *accepting* the terms upon his *entering into covenant*; or as *pleading* them afterwards at the *bar of justice*, at the divine tribunal. There is no more difference between those two several views of the same thing, than there is between the *issuing out a general grant* for the *benefit* of all persons who shall duly and properly *accept* it; and the *actual conferring* the *benefit of that grant* upon the persons *so accepting:* but some have chosen *one* view for the

* Δικαιωσύνη, which may as well be rendered *justification* as *righteousness*, appears to mean *our righteousness*, which we hold of *God's grace* by faith in Christ Jesus, in the following texts; Rom. i. 17. iii. 5. 21, 22. ix. 30, 31. x. 3. 1 Cor. i. 30. 2 Cor. v. 21. Philip. iii. 9. 2 Pet. i. 1. Matt. vi. 33.

easier and apter explaining (as they conceived) the nature of *justification*; and some have preferred the *other*, for the like reasons *. The general way has been to understand *justification* as a kind of *law-term*, expressing a *judicial* transaction. *Protestants* of every denomination have set themselves to defend it †; and even *Romanists* also, many of them, have readily submitted to it ‡. So that the word *justification*, in this view, and in the *active* sense, will signify *God's pronouncing* a person *just* and his *accepting* him *as such* §; while, in the *passive* sense,

* "It is indeed to be granted, that *justification* importeth, "not making of a man righteous, but declaring him and ac- "counting him righteous, treating him, and dealing with him "as righteous: all this is true; and yet I will not grant that "it is so properly understood to be the act of God as sitting "upon the throne of *judgment* (whether according to mercy, "or justice) as the act of God *contracting* with man for ever- "lasting life, upon condition of submitting to the covenant of "grace, and the terms of it." *Thorndike*, Epil. B. ii. p. 40. Conf. *Pufendorf.* jus. fecial. divin. p. 144, 166, 172, 319, 349, 353.

† Bishop *Andrews*'s Serm. p. 76. *Field.* p. 291. Bishop *Bull*, p. 411, &c. *Frid. Spanheim.* Fil. Tom. iii. p. 276, *Vitringa*, Observat. Sacr. Lib. iv. c. x. § vi, &c. Tom. i. p. 346. *Buddeus*, Instit. Theol. p. 951. *Deylingius*, Obs. Sacr. Tom. iii. 561.

‡ Vid. *Gul. Forbes*, Consid. Modest. p. 98. edit. 2.

§ Justificatio evangelica quæ *Deum Auctorem* respicit, definiri

sense, it will signify *man's* being *so declared*, and thereupon *accepted* into new privileges, and his enjoying the benefits thereof*. So much for the *name*.

II.

I am *next* to consider what the *thing* granted and received, *really is*, or what it *contains*.

Here we are to observe, not barely what the *word* itself strictly and grammatically *signifies*, but what it *stands for*, and must stand for as made use of in this *particular* case, or in such and such *circumstances*. The *evangelical notion* of it must be governed by *evangelical principles:* it is a *complex notion* which takes in *more ideas* than the *name* would *necessarily* signify in *different circumstances*.

1. *Remission of sins* is most certainly one *considerable part*, or ingredient of *evangelical*

finiri potest, *Actio Dei* qua pœnitentem absolvit, propter *Merita* Christi *viva* Fide accepta & applicata. *Fogg.* Theolog. Speculat. Schema, p. 427.

* Si consideretur (Justificatio) cum Respectu ad Conditionem *Justificati*, est *Mutatio status*, quem Resipiscens obtinet erga Deum, unde cessante reatu, propter Merita Christi *viva* Fide applicata, non est Condemnationi obnoxius. *Fogg.* Theol. Specul. p. 427, 428.

justification:

justification: not that the *name,* abstractedly considered, imports it, but the *nature of the thing*, in this case, *requires* it. Had our *first parents* preserved their *innocence* entire, they would have been thereupon *justified* as *inherently* and *perfectly just*, needing no *pardon:* but men in a *lapsed state*, being all of them more or less *sinners*, cannot be accepted as persons who *have had no sin*, but as persons *discharged* from it. I need not here say, *how*, or upon *what account*; because that will be considered hereafter in its proper place: but in the mean time it is self-evident, that the *justification* of a *sinner* must include *remission of sin*. I may add, that such *remission of sin* properly signifies a *discharge from the penalty* due to it; not from the *blame* it carries with it; except it be in such a sense as ZACHARIAS and ELIZABETH were pronounced *blameless**; for so all *good Christians*, living up to the *Gospel-terms*, and persevering to the end, will be pronounced *blameless* at the last day: and so are they esteemed of here, in the mean season, by God who searches the hearts†.

2. But, besides *remission of sin*, a *right* and *title* to life eternal, but founded only upon *pro-*

* Luke i. 6.

† Vid. *Grab.* in annotatis ad *Bulli* Op. p. 414. Edit. ult.

mise,

*mise**, is included in the *Gospel-notion* of *justification:* not that the bare force of the *word* requires it (for a man might be properly said to be *justified*, who is *acquitted* from *penalty*, though not intitled to a *reward*) but we know what the *scripture-promises* are; and that a *discharge from penalty* hath thereby a sure *title to rewards* connected with it: therefore *evangelical justification* comprehends, according to the *full notion* of it, not only a *title to pardon*, but a *title to salvation* also, a title to both for the time being †.

3. To these some learned divines have added the *sanctification* of the *Holy Spirit* ‡, as a *third ingredient*, to complete the nature or notion of *justification:* but that persuasion is scarce tenable, unless we first qualify it with proper *distinctions*. If by *sanctification* we understand *renovation* of the *inward* man, *that* has no place

* *Debitor* enim factus est [Deus] non aliquid a Nobis *accipiendo*, sed quod Ei placuit promittendo. Aliter enim dicimus Homini *debes Mihi quia dedi Tibi*; & aliter dicimus, *debes Mihi quia promisisti Mihi.*——Illo ergo Modo possumus exigere dominum nostrum, ut dicamus, redde quod *promisisti*, quia fecimus quod *jussisti:* Et hoc *Tu fecisti*, quia Laborantes juvisti. *Augustin.* Serm. clviii. de verbis Apost. Rom. viii. p. 762, Tom. v. Edit. Bened.

† Vid. *Bull.* exam. censur. ad Animadv. iii. p. 537, 538.

‡ Vid. *Gul. Forbes*, Consid. Modest. p. 118, &c.

in

in the *justification* of *infants*; besides that even in *adults* it is rather a *qualification for* the privilege, than the *privilege itself:* but if by *sanctification* of the *Spirit* be meant only the baptismal *unction*, or that *sealing* of the *Spirit* *, which goes along with all *valid*, and of course with all *saving* baptism †; *that* indeed must necessarily be supposed in all baptismal *justification*, as a part of it, or an ingredient in it; inasmuch as *justification* cannot be conceived without some work of the *Spirit* in conferring a *title to salvation*. In this sense, every person *justified* is *ipso facto* sealed and consecrated by the *Spirit* of God. But the truth of this matter will more fully appear under another head in the sequel.

III.

Having thus briefly considered *what justification is*, and *what it contains;* I proceed to observe how it is *distinguished* from *renovation* and *regeneration*, to both which it is indeed very nearly allied.

1. By *renovation* I understand the *inward renewing* of the *heart and mind* ‡; the same that

* See *Bingham* XI. 1, 6.

† See *Regeneration stated*, &c. p. 30, 31.

‡ See *Regeneration stated*, &c. p. 13, &c.

commonly

commonly goes under the name of inward *sanctification* of the *Spirit*. This is necessarily presupposed, in some measure or degree, with respect to *adults*, in their *justification*; because *without holiness no man shall see the Lord**, no man shall be *entitled to salvation*; that is to say, no man *justified*. But though this consideration sufficiently proves that *sanctification* and *justification* are *near allied;* yet it does not prove that they are the *same thing*, or that one is properly *part* of the other. An *essential qualification* for any *office*, *post*, *dignity*, or *privilege*, must be supposed to *go along* with that *office*, *post*, &c. But still the *notions* are very *distinct*, while the *things* themselves are in fact *connected* of course. So stands the case between *sanctification* and *justification:* the one is a *capacity for* such a grant; the other is the *very grant* itself: the one is an *infused* and *inherent quality*, God's work *within* us; the other an *outward privilege*, or *extrinsic relation*, God's gracious act *towards* us. In short, *sanctification* denotes the *frame of mind*, the holy disposition; while *justification* denotes the *state* which a man is in with respect to God, his *discharge from guilt and penalty*, his *Christian membership*, his *heavenly citizenship*, his *gospel-rights*, *pleas*, and *privileges*.

* Hebr. xii. 14.

Again: *sanctification* is commonly understood of the *mind*, or *soul* only; while *justification* is of the *whole man*. The title which the *body* hath to a future *resurrection* or *redemption*, is included in the very notion of a *justified* man.

It may be further noted, that *justification may be supposed*, where *sanctification* (according to the full notion thereof) *is not*; as in the case of *infants* newly baptized: they are indeed thereby *sanctified* in a certain sense; but not in the sense of a proper *renewal* of *mind and heart*. These considerations sufficiently mark out the *difference* between *justification* and *sanctification*.

2. I am *next* to observe, how *justification* differs from *regeneration*. They *differ* but little as to the *main things*; since the *grants* made, and the *blessings* conferred, are much the *same in both*: but still there is *some* difference, and that both *notional* and *real*.

So far as the *main things* are the *same*, they are however expressed under *different figures*: for in *regeneration*, God is considered as a *father* begetting us into a new life of light, blessings, and privileges: but in *justification*, he is considered either as a *proprietor* making over the same

same grants, or as a *judge* giving favourable sentence from the throne of mercy.

Another *difference* is, that *regeneration*, in the strict sense, expresses no more than the *first admittance* and *entrance* into such and such rights and privileges; and therefore comes but *once*: but *justification* is a thing *continued* * during the whole spiritual life: one is giving and receiving *life*; the other is giving and receiving *growth* and *increase*.

A third *difference* is, that *regeneration*, in the stricter sense † of that name, may admit of

* Vid. *Gul. Forbes*, p. 261. *Bull* Op. p. 437. And compare my *Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, p. 325, 330, 345, 362.

† Of the *stricter* and *larger* sense of the word *regeneration*, see *regeneration stated*, p. 18, 19, 27, 30.

St. *Austin* followed the *stricter* sense when he said: Simon Ille Magus natus erat ex Aqua & Spiritu, Tom. ix. p. 169.

In another place, he followed the *larger* sense, which takes in *renovation* to compleat the notion of regeneration considered as *salutary*.

Qui *natus est ex Deo* habet Caritatem—videat si habeat Caritatem, & tunc dicat, *natus sum ex Deo*.——Habeat Caritatem; aliter non se dicat *natum* ex Deo. *Augustin.* Tom. ii. Part ii. p. 859.

Hence it appears, that, as the word *faith* sometimes signifies simply *faith*, and sometimes *saving faith*, so the word *regeneration* admits of the like twofold meaning.

the distinction of *salutary*, and *not salutary*: whereas *justification* admits not of that distinction at all, being *salutary* in the *very notion* of it, as it imports a *right* and *title to salvation*, for the time being, on the *Gospel-terms*.

A fourth *difference* is, that *regeneration*, once *given* and *received*, can never be *totally lost*, any more than *baptism*, nor ever want to be *re-iterated*, in the *whole* thing*: but *justification* may be *granted* and *accepted*, and *take place* for a time, and yet may *cease* afterwards, both *totally* and *finally*†. These several articles of *difference* sufficiently shew that the *names* are not tantamount, but that they stand for *things different*; *similar* in *some* respects only, not in *all*.

* See *Regeneration stated*, &c. p. 9, 12, 16, 17, 26, 30.

† See *Article* XVIth. And *Homily* on good Works, p. 49. Compare *Bulli* Op. p. 668. *Augustan Conf.* c. xi. *Truman* Great Propit. p. 153, 178. *Heylin.* Histor. Quinquartic. Part i. p. 17, 28, 33, 86. Part iii. p. 31, &c.

The sense of our Church on this head, is manifest from this single consideration; that she looks upon it as *certain by God's word*, that all *children baptized* are so far *justified*, inasmuch as if they *die* before *actual sin*, they are *undoubtedly saved*. Now it cannot be doubted but that many who have been baptized in *infancy*, may, and do fall afterwards, both *totally* and *finally*: therefore our Church must of consequence allow and suppose, that persons once *justified* may *totally* and *finally* perish.

IV. Having

IV.

Having considered *what justification is*, and *how distinguished*, I may now pass on to enquire into its *constituent causes*, *principal* and *less principal*, *efficient* and *instrumental*, *divine* and *human*, and the like: for there are *several causes*, more or less contributing to the *justification* of a person; that is, to the making him a *sure title to salvation* for the time being.

1. *God the Father* is here to be considered as *principal*, as he is the head and fountain of all. Of that there can be no question, and therefore I need not say more of it: the *divine philanthropy* is of *prime consideration* in the whole thing.

2. In the next place, *God the Son* is here to be considered as the *procuring* and *meritorious cause* of *man's justification*, both by his *active* and *passive obedience**. This, though it may be disputed by such as will dispute any thing, or every thing, yet seems to be generally admitted among the sober divines of all the great divisions of *Christians*.

* See *Gul. Forbes* Consider. Modest. p. 67, &c. *Thorndike* Epil. Book ii. p. 254, &c. *Pufendorf.* Jus. Fecial. p. 187.

3. In

3. In the third place, *God the Holy Ghost* is here to be considered as the *immediate, efficient cause:* for proof of which, we need not go farther than our Lord's own words, that, *except* one *be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God**; which is as much as to say, he cannot have a *title* to salvation, cannot be *justified.* Neither need we here put in the restriction, *ordinarily* so far as the *Spirit* is concerned: his *immediate agency* must be supposed, in *all cases,* and upon *every supposition.*

4. After the three *divine persons,* principally concurring and co-operating in *man's justification,* we may next pass on to the *subordinate instruments:* and here come in the *ministry,* the *word,* and the *sacraments*†; but more particularly the sacrament of *baptism*; which perhaps may here deserve a *large* and *distinct considera-*

* John iii. 5. comp. 1 Cor. vi. 11. xii. 13. Tit. iii. 5, 6, 7.

† Sacramenta sunt *Media* offerentia & exhibentia *ex Parte Dei*; Fides *Medium* recipiens & apprehendens ex *Parte nostra. Gerhard.* Loc. Comm. Part IV. p. 309.

Tantum dicimus, quemadmodum *Fides* est quasi *Manus nostra,* qua Nos quærimus & accipimus; Sic *Verbum* & *Sacramenta* esse quasi *Manus Dei,* quibus Is nobis offert & confert quod Fide a nobis petitur & accipitur. *Vossius* de Sacram. Vi & Effic. Op. Tom. vi. p. 252.

tion,

tion, as it has been too often *omitted*, or but *perfunctorily* mentioned, in Treatises written upon the subject of *Justification*.

If we look either into the *New Testament*, or into the *ancient Fathers*, we shall there find that the *Sacrament of Baptism*, considered as a *federal rite* or *transaction* between God and man, is either declared or supposed the ordinary, necessary, outward *instrument* in God's hands of man's *justification*: I say, an instrument in *God's* hands, because it is certain, that in that sacred rite, *God himself bears a part**, as *man also bears his*; and that *in* both *sacraments* (as our Church teaches) *God embraces us, and offereth himself to be embraced by us* †. According to the natural order of *precedency*, the authorized *ministry* is *first* in consideration ‡; the *word* next; then *hearing*, and *believing* with a penitent heart, and lively faith; after that, *baptism*, and therein the first solemn and certain *reception* of *justification*, which is afterwards *continued* by the same *lively faith*, and the use of the *word*, and of the other *sacrament*.

* See *Review of the Doctrine of the Eucharist*, p. 16, 17, &c.

† *Homily* on the Common Prayer and Sacraments, p. 370.

‡ Rom. x. 13, 14, 15. Tit. i. 3.

Now,

Now, as to *baptism*, and its being, ordinarily, the necessary *outward mean* or *instrument* of *justification*, the *immediate* and *proximate form* and *rite of conveyance*; that will be easily made appear from many clear texts of the *New Testament*, as also from the concurring verdict of *antiquity*, the best interpreter of the sacred writings.

First. The *texts* I shall here take in their order. *He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved; but he that believeth not, shall be damned* *. Here the word *saved* amounts to the same thing in the main with *justified*, being opposed to *condemned:* and it is farther observable, that the *believing* here must be understood of a *lively* faith; yet that *alone* is not said to *save*, or *justify*, but with the addition of *baptism*, or in and with the use of *baptism:* for, whatever some may please to teach of *faith only* as *justifying*, the *exclusive term*, most certainly, is not to be understood in opposition, either to the *work* of the *Father*, or of the *Son*, or of the *Holy Ghost;* or to thes tanding *means* of conveyance which they have chosen. The warmest contenders for faith *alone*, are content to admit that the exclusive term, *alone*, is opposed only to

* Mark xvi. 16.

every

every thing else on *man's part* in *justifying*, not to any thing on *God's part:* now, I have already noted that *baptism* is an *instrument* in *God's* hand, who *bears his part* in it; and therefore *baptism*, in this view, relates to *God's part* in *justifying*, and not to *man's*. It is not indeed said in the text just cited, that he who is not *baptized* shall be *damned*, as it is said of him, who *believeth not*. God reserves to *himself* a liberty of *dispensing* in that case. At the same time, he has made no *promise*, or *covenant to justify* any one *without* the use of *baptism:* so that still *baptism* must be looked upon as the *ordinary* standing *instrument* of *justification* on *God's part;* and we have no certain *warrant* for declaring any one *justified* independently of it.

The next remarkable *text* is, *except one be born of water and of the Spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God, cannot see the kingdom of God**. Where we may observe, that *born again* in the 2d verse, is interpreted of *baptism, (sign* and *thing signified)* in the 5th; and the emphatical word, *cannot*, is twice made use of in that case. What room then is there left for pretending any direct and positive *promise*

* John iii. 3, 5. See *Regeneration stated*, &c. p. 3.

from *God* to *justify* any man *before*, or *without* that *ordinary mean?* Say that *faith* is *our instrument* for *receiving* justification, which is saying enough; still *baptism* must be *God's instrument*, ordinarily, for *applying* or *conferring* it, in virtue of what our Lord himself, in that place, has *twice* solemnly declared. But I pass on.

In the *second* of the *Acts*, we read these words of St. PETER to the *Jews* of that time: *repent and be baptized every one of you in the name of* JESUS CHRIST, *for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the* HOLY GHOST *. Now, it is to be noted, that true repentance in such case *presupposes* some degrees of preparatory *grace* and *lively faith;* and yet *baptism* was to *intervene* too, in order to *remission*, that is, in order to *justification*, and the gift of the *indwelling* of the Holy Spirit of God.

So again in the case of St. PAUL, at his conversion to Christianity: he had been a *true believer* from the time when he said, *Lord*, what wilt thou *have me to do* †? But he was not yet *justified:* his sins remained in charge for *three days* at least longer: for, it was so long before ANANIAS came to him, and said, *Arise, and be*

* Acts ii. 38. † Acts ix. 9.

baptized,

*baptized, and wash away thy sins, calling on the name of the Lord**. *Baptism* was at length his grand *absolution*, his *patent* of *pardon*, his *instrument* of *justification* granted him from above: neither was he *justified* till he *received that divine seal*, in as much as his *sins* were upon him *till that very time.*

Pass we on to the Epistle to the *Romans*, where St PAUL says; *know ye not, that so many of us as were baptized into* JESUS CHRIST, *were baptized into his death*, (that is, into a *participation* of the *death* and *merits of* CHRIST, through which also we *die* unto sin) *therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death* †: In *baptism* is the first formal solemn *death unto sin*, in the *plenary remission* of it; which comes to the same as to say, that there also *commences* our *justification* entire: all before was but *preparatory* to it, as *conception* is to the *birth* ‡.

* Acts xxii. 16.

† Rom. vi. 3. 4. See *Wolfius* in Loc.

‡ Fiunt ergo *Inchoationes* quædam Fidei, *Conceptionibus* similes: Non tamen solum *concipi*, sed etiam *nasci* Opus est, ut ad Vitam perveniatur æternam.

Augustin. de Divers. Quæst. ad Simplic. L. I, p. 89. Tom. VI.

The same St. PAUL says; *by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body* *. Now, if we are first *incorporated* into the *mystical* body of CHRIST by *baptism*, it is manifest that we are there also first *justified*: for, no man strictly belongs to CHRIST till he is *incorporated*; neither is any one *justified* before he is *incorporated*, and made a *member* of CHRIST, a citizen of heaven.

St. PAUL also says; *ye are all the children of God by faith in* CHRIST JESUS: for, as many of you *as have been baptized into* CHRIST, *have put on* CHRIST †. Words very observable, as plainly intimating, that ordinarily a person is not made *a child of God* by *faith*, till that faith is *exerted* in, and *perfected* by, *baptism*.—*Faith* in *adults*, is the *hand* whereby *they receive* the privilege of *adoption* and *justification*; while the *sacrament* is the *hand* whereby *God dispenses* it.

God is the donour; and he can dispense the grace to some without *faith*, as to *infants*; and to others without *baptism*, as to *martyrs* principally, and to *catechumens* prevented by extremities: but still the *ordinary* rule is, first to dispense it upon a *true* and *lively faith*, sealed

* 1 Cor. xii. 13. See my *Review*, &c. p. 367, &c.

† Gal. iii. 26, 27.

with

with the *stipulations* mutually passed in *baptism.*

So again, we read in the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, as follows: CHRIST *also loved the Church, and gave himself for it; that he might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water, by the word*;* that is, by the *words* used in the *form* of *baptism*, as St. CHRYSOSTOM interprets †. If then *baptism* is the ordinary *instrument* whereby CHRIST *cleanses* the members of his Church; by the *same* he must be supposed to *justify* them; as *cleansing* and *justifying* are words of *like import*, in this case, meaning the *same* with *remission of sins*, which is one great *part* of *justification.*

St. PAUL elsewhere speaks of his new converts, as *putting off the body of the sins of the flesh by Christian circumcision*, that is, baptism, *buried with* CHRIST *in baptism, and risen with him through the faith of the operation of God*,—having *all their trespasses forgiven* them ‡. What is

* *Ephes.* v. 25, 26. Significatur heic omnino Baptismus, verbo junctus, tanquam *Instrumentum* Purificationis. *Wolfius* in Loc. Compare *Pearson* on the Creed, Art. X. p. 368.

† *Chrysostom* in Loc. Tom. XI. p. 145. item *Damascen.* in Loc. Op. Tom. II. p. 190.

‡ *Coloss.* ii. 11, 12, 13. See *Wolfius* in Loc. *Wall.* Hist. of

is this but saying, that they were *justified*, instrumentally, by *baptism?* The same thing is, at the same time, said to be brought about by *faith* * (which is indeed the instrument of *reception* on man's part, as *baptism* is of *conveyance*, on God's part) but still that very *faith* is supposed to be exerted in, and compleated by, *baptism*, before it *justifies*, so far as it does *justify*.

I proceed to a noted text in the Epistle to TITUS: *not by works of righteousness, which we have done, but according to his mercy he saved us by the washing of regeneration, and renewing of the Holy Ghost—that being justified by his grace, we should be made heirs according to the hope of eternal life* †. It is manifest, by comparing the three verses together, that *baptism* is here made the *mean* through which, or the *instrument* by which, the *Holy Spirit* of God worketh *regeneration*, *renovation*, and *justifica-*

of Infant. Bapt. Part I. c. ii. *Defence*, p. 269, &c. *Blackwall* Sacr. Classicks, Tom. II. p. 189.

* Διὰ τῆς πίστεως τῆς ἐνεργείας τοῦ Θεοῦ. Ea infertur *Efficacia & Virtus* Dei, quæ *Fidem* in Colossensibus procrearit, similis illi, qua Christum excitavit ex mortuis. *Wolf.* in Loc.

† *Tit.* iii. 5, 6, 7. Compare *Regeneration stated*, upon this text. De Baptismo hæc accipienda esse Patres crediderunt:——Nec aliter Interpretes recentiores tantum non Omnes. *Wolfius* ad Loc.

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tion; and that *justification*, the last named, is, in order of *nature*, (though not in order of *time*) the *last* of the three, as the *result* of the two former, in the same work of grace, in the same federal solemnity. It may be noted by the way, that *baptism*, in this text, is not considered as a *work* of *man*, but as an *instrument*, *rite*, or *federal transaction* between *God and man*.

In the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, we read thus: *and having an high-priest over the house of God, let us draw near with a true heart, in full assurance of faith, having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience, and our bodies washed with pure water: let us hold fast the profession of our faith**, &c. In these few words are pointed out the *meritorious cause* of our *justification*, expressed by the *sprinkling*, viz. with the *blood* of CHRIST, in allusion to the *blood* of the *ancient sacrifices*; the *instrumental mean* of *conveyance*, *baptism*, expressed by the *washing* of our bodies; and the *instrumental mean* of *reception*, expressed by the word *faith*. The *merits* of CHRIST, applied in baptism by the Spirit, and received by a lively *faith*, compleat our *justification*, for the time being. I know

* Heb. x. 21, 22, 23.

not

not whether the *Apostle's* here laying so much stress upon our *bodies* being *washed with pure water*, might not, among several other similar considerations drawn from the *New Testament*, lead the early FATHERS into a thought which they had, and which has not been so commonly observed; namely, that the application of *water* in *baptism* secured as it were, or sealed the *body* to an happy *resurrection:* while the *Spirit* more immediately secured the *soul*; and so the *whole man* was understood to be spiritually *cleansed*, and *accepted* of God, in and by *baptism* *. They had also the like thought with respect to the *elements* of the *other* sacrament, as appointed by God

* The thought is thus expressed by an eminent *Father* of the *second* century.

Corpora enim nostra per *Lavacrum* illam quæ est ad Incorruptionem Unitatem acceperunt; *Animæ* autem per *Spiritum:* Unde & utraque necessaria, cum utraque proficiunt ad Vitam Dei, &c. *Irenæus* L. I. c. xvii. p. 208. Edit. Bened. Compare

Tertullian de Baptismo, c. iv. p. 225. De *Anima*, c. xl. p. 294.

Cyrill Hierosol. Catech. III. p. 41.

Nazianzen Orat. XL. p. 641.

Hilarius Pict. in Matt. p. 660. Edit. Bened.

Nyssenus Orat. de Bapt. Christi, p. 369.

Cyrill Alex. in Joann. L. II. p. 147.

Ammonius in Catena in Joann. p. 89.

Damascen, de Fid. Orthodoxa, L. IV. c. ix. p. 260.

for

for *insuring* the *body* to an happy *resurrection* along with the *soul**. Whether that *ancient rationale* of the *two sacraments* be not, at least, as good as any *modern* ones, I leave to be considered, and pass on.

St. PETER says, *baptism doth also now save us; not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer* [stipulation] *of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ* †.—What I have hereupon to observe is, that baptism *saves:* that is, it gives a just *title* to salvation; which is the same as to say, that it conveys *justification*. But then it must be understood not of the *outward washing*, but of the *inward, lively faith, stipulated* in it, and by it. *Baptism* concurs with *faith*, and *faith* with *baptism*, and the *Holy Spirit* with both; and so the *merits of* CHRIST are savingly applied. Faith *alone* will not ordinarily serve in this case; but it must be a *contracting* faith on *man's part*, contracting in form, corresponding to the *federal* promises and engagements on *God's part:*

* *Irenæus*, L. IV. c. xviii. p. 251. L. V. c. ii. p. 293, 294.
Tertullian de Resurr. Carnis, c. viii. p. 330.
Cyrill Hierosol. Mystag. IV. p. 321.
Paschasius de Corp. & Sangu. Domini, c. xix. p. 1602.

† 1 Pet. iii. 21. See my Review, c. xi. p. 434, 435.

therefore TERTULLIAN rightly stiles baptism *obsignatio fidei**, *testatio fidei*, *sponsio salutis* †, *fidei pactio* ‡, and the like. But I shall say more on the head of *Faith* in a distinct article below.

There is yet another very observable text, which might have come in, in its place; but I chose to reserve it to the last, for the winding up this *summary view* of the *Scripture-doctrine* on this head. It runs thus; *such were some of you: but ye were washed* (viz. in *baptism*) *but ye were sanctified; but ye were justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God* §. I think it better to render it *were*, or *have been*, than *are*, as best suiting with the *original*, and with the, *were*, just going before; but the sense is much the same either way. Here are *three concurrent* causes of *justification* (together with *sanctification*) mentioned together; *viz.* the *meritorious* cause, the *Lord Jesus*; the *efficient* and *operating* cause, *the Spirit of our God*; and the *instrumental* rite of *conveyance*, *baptism*. From these several passages of

* *Tertullian* de Pœnit. c. vi. p. 125. Conf. de Resurr. Carn. c. xlviii. p. 355.

† *Tertullian* de Bapt. c. vi. p. 226.

‡ *Tertullian* de Pudicit. c. ix. p. 562.

§ 1 Cor. vi. 11. See *Wolfius* in Loc. *Bull*, Op. Lat. p. 411, 422.

the

the *New Testament* laid together, it sufficiently appears, not only that *baptism* is the *ordinary instrument* in God's hands for conferring *justification*; but also, that ordinarily there is no *justification* conferred either *before* it, or *without* it. Such *grace* as *precedes* baptism, amounts not ordinarily to *justification*, strictly so called *: such as *follows* it, owes its force, in a great measure, to the *standing virtue* of *baptism* once given †.

Secondly: To confirm what has been here proved from *Scripture*, or rather to shew the more plainly that we are not mistaken in so interpreting, I may next briefly add the *concurring verdict* of the ancients, bearing testimony to the same doctrine, down from St. BARNABAS of the first age, about the year 70, to the end of the IVth *century*, or later.

BARNABAS declares that *baptism procures remission of sins* ‡: therefore it procures *justifi-*

* Vid. *Augustin.* de diversⅰ. Q. ad Simplic. L. I. p. 89. T. VI. item *Epist.* CXCIV. p. 720. Tom. II.

And compare *Regeneration stated*, &c. p. 13.

† Vid. *Augustin* de Nupt. & Concupisc. L. I. p. 298. Tom. X. Compare my *Review*, &c. p. 328, 329.

‡ Τὸ Βάπτισμα τὸ φέρον εἰς ἄφεσιν ἁμαρτιῶν. *Barnab.* Epist. c. xi. p. 36. ἡμεῖς μὲν καταβαίνομεν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ γέμοντες ἁμαρτιῶν καὶ ῥύπα καὶ ἀναβαίνομεν καρποφοροῦντες κ. τ. λ. Ibid. p. 38.

cation. He declares farther, that men descend into the water *full of sins and pollutions:* therefore, by his account, they are not *justified*, ordinarily, *before* baptism. Some *moderns* have imagined the *ancients* built their *strict notions* of the *use* and *necessity* of baptism, upon too rigorous a construction of JOHN iii. 5. But it is certain, that they had those strict notions before St. JOHN's *Gospel* was written; and that BARNABAS, in particular, pleaded texts out of the *Old* Testament for the same doctrine, and that *later* FATHERS had several other texts to produce, besides JOHN iii. 5, such as I have cited: but I proceed.

HERMAS, of the same *century*, affirms, that a Christian's *life is and shall be saved by water* *; which amounts to the same with what we have before seen in St. PETER, and admits of like interpretation. His elsewhere declaring *remission of sins* to belong to *baptism* †, imports as much as saying that *justification* hangs upon it. In another place, he expresses his sense of the *ne-*

* Quoniam Vita vestra *per Aquam* salva facta est & fiet: fundata est enim Verbo Omnipotentis & honorifici Nominis. *Herm.* L. I. Vis. III. § 3. p. 798. Ed. Fabric. Compare *Wall's* Hist. of Inf. Bapt. Part I. c. i. p. 2.

† In Aquam descendimus, & accipimus Remissionem Peccatorum nostrorum. *Herm.* Mandat. IV. § 3. p. 854.

cessity

cessity of *baptism* to *salvation* (consequently, to *justification)* still more positively—" Before any " one receives the name of the Son of God, he " is liable to *death:* but when he receives that " *seal*, he is delivered from *death*, and is as- " signed to *life*. Now, that *seal* is *water*, into " which persons go down liable to *death*, but " come out of it assigned to life *." Here it is plain, that *baptism* is *presupposed* to *justification*, which is made the *effect* and *consequent* of it. I defend not HERMAS's *inference* or *retrospect*, with respect to the ancient PATRIARCHS. *Baptism* is the *Gospel-instrument* of *justification:* but *other symbols*, and *other instruments* served the *same purpose* under the *preceding dispensations* †.

JUSTIN, of the next age, undertaking to describe the *order* and *method* of training up, and admitting *new converts* to Christianity, particu-

* Antequam enim accipiat Homo Nomen Filii Dei, *Morti* destinatus est: at ubi accipit illud *Sigillum*, liberatur a *Morte*, & traditur *Vitæ*. Illud autem Sigillum *Aqua* est, in quam descendunt Homines *Morti* alligati, ascendunt vero *Vitæ* assignati. *Herm. Sim.* IX. § 16. p. 1008. Compare *Wall.* Part. I. c. i. p. 2, 3, 4, 5. And *Bingham* XI. 4, 6, p. 203, 204.

† Vid. *Augustin.* Enchirid. p. 241. Tom. VI.

larly

instrument of *illumination, remission, adoption, perfection, salvation:* under which, jointly considered, must be comprehended all that concerns *justification*, though the name itself is not used.

TERTULLIAN calls *baptism* "The happy sa-"crament of water, whereby we are washed from "the *sins* of our former blindness, and recovered "to eternal life *." He adds that we are *born in water*, and are no otherwise *saved* than by the abiding in it, or by the use of it in *baptism*†. He answers the objection drawn from the *sufficiency* of *faith alone*, as in the instance of ABRAHAM. The sum of his solution is, that what was not required *formerly*, is required *now:* that the *Gospel* has made a *new law*, a *new rule* for it, and has tied us up to such form.

ἐπιλίμια ἀνεῖται· φώτισμα δὲ, διὰ ἧς τὸ ἅγιον ἐκεῖνο φῶς τὸ σωτήριον ἐποπτεύεται, τουτέστιν διὰ ἧς τὸ θεῖον ὀξυωπεῖται. *Clemens. Alex.* Pædag. L. I. c. vi. p. 113. edit. *Oxon.* Conf. *Nazianzen.* de Bapt. Orat. XL. p. 638.

* Felix Sacramentum Aquæ nostræ, qua abluti delictis pristinæ cæcitatis, in Vitam æternam liberamur. *Tertullian* de Bapt. c. i. p. 224.

† In Aqua nascimur: nec aliter quam in Aqua permanendo *Salvi* sumus. *Ibid.* præscribitur Nemini sine Baptismo competere *Salutem*, ex illa maxime Pronuntiatione Domini, qui ait *nisi natus ex Aqua*, &c. *Ibid.* c. xii. p. 228. Conf. *de Anima*, c. xl. p. 294.

He

He refers to MATT. xxviii. 19, and to JOHN iii. 5, and to the instance of St. PAUL, recorded in the *Acts*; who, though he had before *faith* sufficient, yet was strictly required to *add baptism* to it *. From hence it is plain, that TERTULLIAN understood *baptism* to be the ordinary and indispensable *mean* or *instrument* of *justification*; insomuch that he thought even a *Layman* guilty of *destroying a soul*, if he should refuse to give a person *baptism* in a case of *extremity*, no *Clergy* being present †. Nevertheless, the same TERTULLIAN indulged some particularities as to the point of *delaying* baptism in some cases; and has been thought not very *consistent* with himself in that article; especially where he makes it an argument for such *delay*,

* Hic ergo scelestissimi illi provocant Quæstiones: Adeo dicunt, Baptismus non est *necessarius*, quibus *Fides* satis est; nam & *Abraham* nullius Aquæ nisi *Fidei* sacramento Deo placuit. Sed in omnibus *posteriora* concludunt, & *sequentia* antecedentibus prævalent. Fuerit Salus retro per *Fidem nudam*, ante Domini Passionem & Resurrectionem. At ubi Fides *aucta* est, credendi in Nativitatem, Passionem, & Resurrectionem ejus, addita est *Ampliatio* Sacramento, Obsignatio Baptismi, *Vestimentum* quodammodo Fidei, quæ retro erat *nuda*, nec potest [esse] jam sine *sua Lege*. Lex enim tinguendi imposita est, & Forma præscripta. *Tertull.* de Bapt. c. xiii. p. 229.

† Reus erit *perditi Hominis*, si supersederit præstare quod liberè potuit, c. xvii. p. 231.

that *faith entire is secure of salvation* *. But he hereby only *qualified* his *former doctrine*, so as to *except* some very *rare* and *extraordinary* cases, where delays might be made, not out of *contempt*, but *reverence* towards the sacrament: otherwise the *ordinary* rule was to stand inviolable †. As to the *excepted* cases, they would be *rare* indeed, since *baptism* might be had upon very short warning ‡ in any *extremity* almost according to *his* principles, if so much as a *laic* could but be found to confer it. But I return to the point in hand.

CYPRIAN, more cautious in the point of *delays* than his master TERTULLIAN, gives this reason why the *baptism* of *infants* should not be deferred (in danger of death) to the *eighth* day; that it is our duty, so far as in us lies, to take care, that *no soul be destroyed* §. It is plain from

* Si qui Pondus intelligant Baptismi, magis timebunt *Consecutionem* quam *Dilationem:* Fides integra secura est de Salute. c. xviii. p. 232.

† See *Wall.* Hist. of Inf. Bapt. Part I. c. iv. p. 23. *Bingham* XI. 4. 10. p. 212.

‡ Cæterum omnis dies Domini est, omnis Hora, omne Tempus habile Baptismo, c. xix. p. 232.

§ Universi judicavimus, nulli Homini nato Misericordiam Dei & Gratiam denegandam: Nam cum Dominus in Evangelio

from hence, that he thought there was, ordinarily, no *justification* previous to *baptism*, the *appointed channel* of *conveyance*, the fountain head of the spiritual life: for such was CYPRIAN's opinion of it, as appears through all his writings *. Not only so, but he expressly mentions *justification* as one of the graces conferred in it †.

I pass on to the next century; where we find the *elder* CYRIL declaring, that a person comes to *baptism bearing his sins*, *dead in sins* (therefore not yet *justified)* but that he comes out *quickened in righteousness* ‡; which is the same as to say, *justified*.

gelio suo dicat, *Filius Hominis non venit animas Hominum perdere*, sed *salvare*; quantum in nobis est, si fieri potest, nulla Anima perdenda est. *Cyprian* Epist. LIX. Ad Fidum, p. 98. Edit. Bened.

* *Cyprian* Epist. I. p. 2. Epist. XXIII. p. 32. Ep. LXXII. p. 128. Epist. LXXIV. p. 140. Epist. LXXVI. p. 155, 157. *De Habit. Virgin.* p. 180. *Testimon.* L. III. c. xxv. p. 314. De Orat. Domin. p. 206.

† Quomodo Tales *justificare* & *sanctificare* baptizatos possunt, qui Hostes Sacerdotum, *&c.* Epist. LXXVI. p. 155.

‡ Καλέρχη μεν γαρ εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ φορῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας· ἀλλ' ἡ τῆς χάριτος ἐπίκλησις σφραγίσασα τὴν ψυχὴν, ἐ συγχωρεῖ λοιπὸν ὑπὸ τῷ φοβερῷ καταποθῆναι δράκοντος. νεκρὸς ἐν ἁμαρτίαις καταβὰς, ἀναβαίνεις ζωοποιηθεὶς ἐν δικαιωσύνη. *Cyril Hierosol.* Catech. III. p. 45. Edit. Bened. Conf. *Cateches.* xvii. p. 282.

BASIL, of the same century, expresses himself fully to our purpose, in these words: "Whence "are we CHRISTIANS? By *faith*, will every "one say. But after what manner are we "*saved?* By being *regenerated* through the "*grace* which is conferred in *baptism*.—For, if "*baptism* is to me the *beginning* of life, and "that *regeneration-day* is the *first* of days; "then it is manifest that voice is of all the "most *precious* which is sounded forth upon "the *grace* of *adoption* *." *Baptism* is here supposed to be, as it were, the *first delivery* of *God's grant of adoption*, and consequently of *justification*, which is much the same thing. *Faith* goes before, as the *hand* stretched out, ready to *receive:* but it cannot be *received* before it is *given:* neither is it ordinarily first *given* but in *baptism;* nor *continued* afterwards but in *virtue* of it, *due qualifications supposed* all the while. In another Chapter the same Father says, "*Faith* and *baptism* are two means of "salvation, near akin to each other, and *insepa-*

* Χριστιανοὶ πόθεν ἡμεῖς; διὰ τῆς πίστεως πῶς τις ἂν εἴποι· σῳζόμεθα δὲ, τίνα τρόπον; Ἀναγεννηθέντες, δηλονότι, διὰ τῆς ἐν τῷ Βαπτίσματι χάριτος.——εἰ γὰρ ἀρχή μοι ζωῆς τὸ Βάπτισμα, καὶ πρώτη ἡμερῶν ἐκείνη ἡ τῆς παλιγγενεσίας ἡμέρα, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ φωνὴ τιμιωτάτη πασῶν ἡ ἐν τῇ χάριτι τῆς υἱοθεσίας ἐκφωνηθεῖσα. *Basil.* de Spirit. Sanct. c. x. p. 21, 22. Edit. Bened.

"*rable*.

" *rable.* For, *faith* is *perfected* by *baptism*, and " *baptism* is *grounded* in *faith*, and both are *compleated* by the same [divine] names *."

HILARIUS *Diaconus*, some years before BASIL, taught the same doctrine; interpreting St. PAUL's quotation from the PSALMIST (which the Apostle applies to the purpose of *justification*, Rom. iv. 6, 7, 8,) of what is done in *baptism*, of the *justification conferred* in that *holy solemnity* †: from whence it is evident, that he understood *baptism* to be the *ordinary standing mean*, or *instrument of conveyance*.

I shall shut up this detail of *Fathers* with the words of St. AUSTIN; who, undertaking to

* Πίστις δὲ καὶ βάπτισμα, δύο τρόποι τῆς σωτηρίας, συμφυεῖς ἀλλήλοις, καὶ ἀδιαλείπτοι. πίστις μὲν γὰρ τελειοῦται διὰ Βαπτίσματος· Βάπτισμα δὲ βεβαιοῦται διὰ τῆς πίστεως, καὶ διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν ὀνομάτων ἑκάτερα πληροῦται. *Basil.* ibid. c. xii. p. 23.

† Propheta autem Tempus felix prævidens in Salvatoris Adventu, *beatos* nuncupat, quibus sine Labore vel aliquo Opere *per Lavacrum* remittuntur, & teguntur, & non imputantur Peccata. Apostolus tamen propter Plenitudinem Temporum, & quia plus Gratiæ in *Apostolis* est quam fuit in *Prophetis*, majora protestatur quæ ex *Dono Baptismatis* consequimur; Quia non solum *Remissionem Peccatorum* accipere nos, sed *justificari* & *Filios Dei* fieri profitetur, ut *Beatitudo* hæc perfectam habeat & Securitatem & Gloriam. *Hilar. Diac.* in Rom. iv. 8. inter Op. Ambros. Tom. II. p. 49.

explain

explain the *four things* mentioned by the Apostle (Rom. viii. 30.) *predestinate*, *called*, *justified*, and *glorified*, says of the *third*, thus: "Behold, "persons are *baptized*, all their sins are forgiven, "they are *justified* from their sins *." He repeats the same doctrine soon after in words still more express †. It would be endless to quote passages from the same FATHER to prove that, in his account, there is no *justification*, ordinarily, before, or *without baptism*. It was a fixed principle with him, that *justification* ordinarily *commenced* with *baptism*, and not *otherwise*.

From hence (as I may note by the way) we may easily understand what St. AUSTIN meant by his *famed maxim*, which many have often perverted to a very wrong sense; namely, that *good works follow after justification, and do not*

* Ecce enim *baptizati* sunt Homines, omnia illis Peccata dimissa sunt, *justificati* sunt a Peccatis. *Augustin.* Serm. CLVIII. De Verb. Apostol. Rom. viii. 762. Tom. V.

† Unusquisque vestrum jam ipsa *Justificatione* constitutus, accepta scilicet Remissione Peccatorum *per Lavacrum Regenerationis*, accepto Spiritu Sancto, proficiens de Die in Diem, *&c.* *Augustin.* ib. p. 763. Conf. *Chrysostom* in Rom. viii. 30. Hom. xv. p. 595. Tom. IX. Ed. Bened. *Damascen.* in eund. Loc. Op. Tom. II. p. 33.

precede

precede it *. In reality, he meant no more than that men must be *incorporated in* CHRIST, must be *Christians*, and *good Christians* (for such only are *justified)* before they could practise *Christian works*, or *righteousness*, strictly so called †: for *such works only* have an *eminent right* and *title* to the name of *good works*; as *they only* are *salutary* within the *covenant*, and have a *claim* upon *promise*. Works before *justification*, that is, before salutary *baptism*, are not, in his account ‡, *within* the *promise*; but are *excluded* rather, according to the *ordinary* rule

* Sciat se quisque per *Fidem* posse justificari, etiamsi *Legis* Opera non præcesserint: *Sequuntur enim justificatum non præcedunt justificandum. Augustin.* de Fid. & Oper. c. xiv. p. 177. Tom. VI. Justificationem Opera non præcedunt. *Augustin.* de Spirit. & Litera, c. xxvi. 109. Tom. X. Bona Opera subsequuntur Gratiam, non præcedunt.—*Op. imperf. contr. Julian.* L. I. c. cxli. p. 956. Tom. X. Conf. Tom. II. p. 717, 720, & Tom. VI. p. 89.

† Mandata ejus sancta & bona sibi tribuebant; quæ ut *possit* Homo facere, Deus operatur in Homine per Fidem Jesu Christi qui Finis est *ad justitiam* omni *Credenti:* Id est, cui per Spiritum *incorporatus*, factusque *Membrum* ejus potest quisque, illo Incrementum intrinsecus dante, *operari justitiam.. Augustin.* de Spiritu & Lit. c. xxix. p. 113. Conf. c. xxxiv. p. 119. Tom. VI.

‡ Vid. *Augustin.* de divers. Quæst. ad Simplic. L. I. p. 89. Tom. VI. Item, de Spirit. & Lit. c. xxxiv. p. 119. Tom. VI.

laid

laid down in JOHN iii. 5, and diverse other texts before cited. But I return.

Enough hath been said to shew, that *baptism* is, by divine appointment, the *ordinary instrument* for conveying the grace of *justification*. *Scripture* and *antiquity* are clear in this matter: and so likewise are our *Church-forms*; particularly our *baptismal** offices, *catechism*, and *confirmation*.

I am aware that some eminent *moderns*† have presumed to teach, that the *first* justification in adults, is *antecedent* to baptism, and that *baptism* rather *seals* and *confirms* it, than *conveys* it: but I see no sufficient ground for that doctrine, either in *scripture*, or *antiquity*, or in the *public offices* of our Church; but much the contrary: and it seems, that the mistake in this matter first arose, either from the confounding the first preparatory *renewings* of the grace of the Spirit, with the grace of *justification*; or from a misinterpreting of St. PAUL's doctrine relating to *justifying faith*, as if the Apostle in mentioning *one* instrument of justification, had

* *Publ. Bapt. of Inf.* And *Private Bapt.* And *Bapt. of Those of riper Years.*

† *Bucer.* Script. Anglican. p. 730.

thereby

thereby excluded every instrument *besides*, which he does not. It might as well be pleaded (as I before hinted) that the Apostle had thereby excluded the work of the *Father*, or *Son*, or *Spirit* from the office of *justification*; as that he excluded the visible *means*, *rites*, or *sacraments*, in and by which they jointly operate. St. PAUL's phrases, or *exclusive terms* infer no such thing; neither is his *faith* opposed to *baptism*, but it takes it in, ordinarily, and is neither *salutary*, nor *lively* faith, till *plighted in that ordinance* *.

5. From the instrument of *conveyance* on *God's* part, we may next proceed to the instrument of *reception* on *man's*; which I take to be *faith*, as I have more than once intimated, and must now explain.

* This article was maintained, against *Cartwright*, by *Whitgift* first, and afterwards by *Hooker*. (See *Hooker*, B. V. No. 60, p. 276.) *Field*, after both, vindicates the *Protestants* on that head, against the reproaches of their *Popish* adversaries, as follows:

" *Stapleton* saith, that a threefold fraud of the *Protestants*, " touching remission of sins, is to be avoided: First, in that " they make our *justification* to consist in the *sole* remission of " sins by *faith*, that the *sacraments* confer nothing to our *jus-* " *tification*. But this is untrue; for they teach no such " thing; but that *baptism* and *repentance* are necessarily re- " quired in them that are to be *first* justified. *Field* on the Church, B. III. Append. p. 298."

G I am

by *evangelical works*, without taking in *faith* in the meritorious sufferings and satisfaction of a mediator; then might we have *whereof to glory* *, as needing no pardon; and then might it be justly said, that CHRIST *died in vain* †. I must further own, that it is of great weight with me, that so early and so considerable a writer as CLEMENS of *Rome*, an apostolical man, should so interpret the doctrine of *justifying faith*, as to *oppose* it plainly even to *evangelical* works however exalted. It runs thus: "They "(the ancient PATRIARCHS) were all therefore "greatly glorified and magnified; not for their "own sake, or for their *own works*, or for the "*righteousness* which they themselves wrought, "but through his good pleasure. And we also "being called through his good pleasure in "CHRIST JESUS, are not *justified* by ourselves, "neither by our own wisdom, or knowledge, or "*piety*, or the *works* which we have done in *ho-* "*liness of heart*, but by *that faith* by which Al- "mighty God *justified* all from the begin- "ning ‡." Here it is observable, that the word

* See Rom. iv. 2.

† See Gal. ii. 21.

‡ Καὶ ἡμεῖς ἓν διὰ θελήματος αὐτοῦ ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ κληθέντες, οὐ δι' ἑαυτῶν δικαιούμεθα, οὐδὲ διὰ τῆς ἡμετέρας σοφίας, ἢ συνέσεως, ἢ εὐσεβείας, ἢ ἔργων ὧν κατειργασάμεθα ἐν ὁσιότητι καρδίας· ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς πίστεως, δι' ἧς πάντας τοὺς ἀπ' αἰῶνος ὁ παντοκράτωρ Θεὸς ἐδικαίωσεν. *Clem. Rom.* Ep. i. c. 32.

faith

faith does not stand for the whole system of Christianity, or for *Christian belief* at large, but for some particular *self-denying* principle by which good men, even under the *patriarchal* and *legal* dispensations, laid hold on the *mercy* and *promises* of God, referring all, not to *themselves* or their *own deservings*, but to *divine goodness*, in and through a *Mediator*. It is true, CLEMENS elsewhere, and St. PAUL almost every where, insists upon true *holiness of heart*, and *obedience of life*, as indispensable *conditions* of salvation, or *justification*; and of that, one would think there could be no question among men of any judgment or probity: but the question about *conditions* is very distinct from the other question about *instruments*; and therefore both parts may be true, *viz.* that *faith* and *obedience* are *equally conditions*, and equally *indispensable* where *opportunities* permit; and yet *faith* over and above is emphatically the *instrument* both of *receiving* and *holding* justification, or a title to salvation *.

To

* A learned foreigner illustrates this matter by the case of *marriage*, as every good person is conceived to be married to Christ, and to become one flesh with him. *Ephes.* v. 31, 32. Now there are many *qualifications*, *conditions*, *capacities* requisite to a *valid* marriage: but still *consent*, or *contract*, with due solemnities, is what formally *makes* the matrimonial bond, and what gives it its sanction. Respect, obedience, love,

To explain this matter more distinctly, let it be remembered, that God may be considered (as I before noted) either as a party *contracting* with man, on very *gracious* terms *; or as a *Judge* to *pronounce judgment* upon him.

Man's first coming into Covenant (supposing him *adult)* is by *assenting* to it, and *accepting* of it, to have and to hold it on *such kind of tenure* as God *proposes:* that is to say, upon a *self-denying* tenure, considering himself as a *guilty* man, standing in *need* of *pardon*, and of *borrowed* merits, and at length resting upon *mercy* †. So

love, do not properly *effect* it; but *consent* does. So *faith* binds the contract, consummates the marriage-covenant with Christ, while the rest are considered as *qualifications*, or *conditions* of the stipulation, not as the formal stipulation itself. Vid. *Wesselii* Dissertat. Academ. p. 147, &c. 281.

* Neque enim Hoc *fœdus* Naturam habet *Emptionis, Venditionis*, aut *Locationis, Conductionis*, aut alicujus Contractûs *innominati, do ut facias, facio ut facias*, ubi eorum quæ invicem præstantur *æqualitas* requiritur: Sed habet aliquam convenientiam cum contractu *feudali*, ubi una Pars *ex Gratia* Quid in alterum confert, quæ autem altera vicissim præstat, non *Retributionis* sed tantum *Recognitionis* Vim habent, grati, fidelis, ac devoti Animi Testem. *Pufendorf*, Jus Fecial. Divin. § 54, p. 191. Conf. § 51, p. 172.

† Summa huc redit, quod is [Christus] Peccata Generis Humani, in se suscepit, eaque expiavit, ac pro iisdem justitiæ Divinæ satisfecit, eo cum Effectu ut Qui in ipsum *credunt*,

So here, the *previous* question is, whether a person shall *consent* to hold a privilege upon this *submissive* kind of tenure, or not? Such *assent* or *consent*, if he comes into it, is the *very thing* which St. Paul and St. Clemens call *faith* *: and this *previous* and *general* question, is the question which both of them determine against any *proud claimants* who would hold by a more *self-admiring* tenure.

Or, if we next consider God as sitting in judgment, and man before the tribunal, going to plead his cause; here the question is, what *kind* of *plea* shall a man resolve to trust his salvation upon? Shall he stand upon his *innocence*, and rest upon *strict law*; or shall he plead *guilty*, and rest in an *act of grace?* If he chuses the *former*, he is

credunt, seu in ejusdem *Merito* & *Satisfactione* omnem suam *Fiduciam* reponunt, *ejus intuitu* Gratiam Dei quærunt, Peccatorum Remissionem, *solidam* & coram Tribunali divino subsistentem *Justitiam*, cum aliis Beneficiis quæ cum Deo reconciliatos comitantur, & demum *Vitam æternam* consequantur. *Pufendorf*, ibíd. § 48, p. 166.

* Quia Fœdus ac Divina Beneficia per eandem [Fidem] *acceptantur*; cum invitis & reluctantibus ista impingere nolit Deus, neque id citra Extinctionem *Moralitatis* fieri possit. *Ibid.* § 51, p. 172. Ex Parte Hominum ordinavit Medium λητπτικὸν, seu per quod istud acceptatur, *Fidem*; quam etiam Hominibus offert, sed *morali*, non *physico* aut *mechanico* Modo. *Ibid.* § 78, p. 319. Conf. § 85, p. 349.

proud,

proud, and sure to be *cast:* if he chuses the *latter*, he is *safe* so far, in throwing himself upon an *act of grace.* Now, this question also, which St. PAUL has decided, is *previous* to the question, what *conditions* even the act of grace itself finally insists upon? A question which St. JAMES in particular, and the general tenour of the whole scripture has abundantly satisfied; and which could never have been made a *question* by any considerate, or impartial CHRISTIAN. But of that I may say more under another article. What I am at present concerned with, is to observe, that *faith* is emphatically the *instrument* by which an adult *accepts* the covenant of grace, *consenting* to hold by *that kind* of *tenure*, to be *justified* in *that way*, and to rest in *that kind* of plea, putting his *salvation* on *that* only issue.

It appears to be a just observation, which Dr. WHITBY makes (Pref. to the Epist. to *Galat.* p. 300) that ABRAHAM had *faith* (*Hebr.* xi. 8.) before what was said of his *justification* in *Gen.* xv. 6; and afterwards more abundantly, when he offered up his son ISAAC; but yet neither of those instances was pitched upon by the Apostle, as fit for his purpose, because in both *obedience* was joined with *faith:* whereas here was a pure *act of faith* without *works*, and

of

of this *act of faith* it is said, *it was imputed to him for righteousness.*

The sum is, none of our *works* are good enough to stand by *themselves* before Him, who is of *purer* eyes than to behold *iniquity*. CHRIST only is *pure* enough for it at first hand, and they that are CHRIST's at second hand, in and through him. Now, because it is by *faith* that we thus interpose, as it were, CHRIST between *God* and *us*, in order to gain *acceptance* by him; therefore *faith* is emphatically the *instrument* whereby we *receive* the grant of *justification*. *Obedience* is equally a *condition*, or *qualification*, but not an *instrument*, not being that *act* of the *mind* whereby we *look up* to GOD and CHRIST, and whereby we *embrace* the promises.

Faith, by St. PAUL's account of it, *is the substance of things hoped for*, as making the things *subsist*, as it were, with certain effect, in the mind. It is the *evidence of things not seen* *, being, as it were, the eye of the mind, *looking* to the *blood* of CHRIST, and thereby inwardly warming the affections to a firm reliance upon it, and acquiescence in it †. But this is to be understood of a *firm* and *vigorous* faith, and at the

* Hebr. xi. 1. † Rom. iii. 25.

same time *well grounded.*—*Faith* is said to *embrace* (salute, welcome) the things *promised* of GOD *, as things *present* to view, or near at hand. There is no other faculty, virtue, act, or exercise of the mind, which so properly does it, as *faith* does: therefore *faith* particularly is represented as that by which the *Gentile* converts *laid hold on* justification †, and brought it home to themselves. And as *faith* is said to have *healed* several ‡, in a *bodily* sense; so may it be also said to *heal* men in a *spiritual* way, that is, to *justify*, being immediately *instrumental* in the *reception* of that grace, more than any other *virtues* are. For as, when persons were *healed* by *looking on* the *brazen serpent* §, their *eyes* were particularly *instrumental* to their *cure*, more than the *whole body*; so *faith*, the *eye* of the mind, is particularly *instrumental* in this affair, more than the *whole body* of graces, with which it is accompanied: not for any super-eminent excellency of *faith* above every other virtue (for *Charity is* greater ||) but for its particular *aptness*, in the

* Hebr. xi. 13, 14.

† Rom. ix. 30, 31, 32.

‡ Matt. ix. 22. Luke vii. 50. viii. 48. xvii. 19. xviii. 42. Mark v. 34. x. 52.

§ Numb. xxi. 8, 9. Comp. Isa. xlv. 22. Joh. iii. 14. Conf. *Gul. Forbes*, Consid. Modest. p. 28, 29. *Grabe* in Notis ad *Bulli* Harmon. p. 450, 451.

|| 1 Cor. xiii. 13.

very

very *nature* of it, to make things *distant* become *near*, and to admit them into close embraces. The *Homilies* of our Church describe and limit the doctrine thus: "*Faith* doth not shut out "*repentance*, *hope*, *love*, *dread*, and the *fear* of "God to be *joined* with *faith* in every man that "is *justified*; but it shutteth them out from "the *office* of justifying*;" that is to say, from the *office* of *accepting* or *receiving* it: for, as to the *office* of *justifying* in the *active* sense, *that* belongs to *God only*, as the same *Homily* elsewhere declares†. The doctrine is there further explained thus: "Because *faith* doth di-"rectly *send us* to CHRIST *for remission of our* "*sins*, and that by *faith* given us of God we "*embrace* the *promise* of God's mercy, and of "the remission of our sins (which thing none "*other* of our *virtues* or *works* properly doth) "therefore the *Scripture* useth to say, that faith

* Homily of Salvation, Part I. p. 22.

† Homily of Salvation, Part II. p. 25, 26; and Part III. p. 28. Among the *later* Homilies, see *on the Passion*, p. 452, 454. And *concerning the Sacrament*, Part I. p. 472, 574. Conf. *Nowelli* Catech. p. 41. *Gul. Forbes*, Consid. Modest. p. 23, 24, 38. *Hooker*, Disc. on Justific. p. 509. *Tyndal*, 45, 187, 225, 330, 331. *Field*, 298, 323. Conf. *Augustan*, Art. XX. p. 18, 19. *Spanheim*, Tom. III. p. 141, 159, 761, 834. *Le Blanc*, p. 126, 267.

"*without works* doth *justify* * :" not that this is to be understood of a man's being confident of his *own* election, his *own* justification, or his *own* salvation in particular (which is quite another question, and to be determined by other rules) but of his *confiding* solely upon the *covenant of grace* in CHRIST (not upon his *own deservings*) with full assurance that so, and *so only*, he is *safe* as long as he behaves accordingly.

The *covenant of grace* has *conditions* annexed to it, which I am next to consider.

* Homily of Salvation, Part III. p. 28.

N. B. In the 28th *Article* of our Church, we are taught, *that* the MEAN *whereby the body of Christ is* RECEIVED *and eaten in the Supper*, is FAITH. Comp. *Jewell's Defence, &c.* p. 234. And my *Review*, p. 141, 142, 195, 212, 241, 244, 539. No one can doubt but that *Charity* is as necessarily required to a *worthy* reception of the *Eucharist*, or to a *real* reception of the *body* and the *graces* thereon depending, as *faith* can be: they are *both* of them *equally conditions:* but *faith* particularly is the *mean*, or *instrument*; which *charity* in this case is not. *Charity* is excluded here from serving as a *mean*, from the *office* of being an *instrument*, and nobody takes offence at it: why should they therefore in the other *sacrament*, the sacrament of the *first* justification, when the cases are parallel? Our Church is constant and uniform in *both*; and so are the *ancient* churches likewise, upon reasons grounded in the very nature of *faith*, as an act or habit *specifically different* from *charity*.

6. The

6. The *conditions* of *justification* are of great weight; for, without them, no *instruments* can avail. Those *conditions* are *faith* and *obedience*; as St. JAMES hath particularly maintained *, St. PAUL had before determined the *general* and *previous* question, as to the *tenure* whereby we are to hold, or the *plea* by which we ought to abide; namely, by *grace*, in opposition to *claims:* and when some *libertines* had perverted (as is probable) St. PAUL's doctrine very widely and strangely, and made an ill use of it; then St. JAMES shewed that that very *faith*, which was to rest in a covenant of *grace*, supposed a *conformity* to the *terms* of it; otherwise it would be found but a *dead faith*, no *Christian faith* at all: for, a *cordial belief* of the divine *promises*, and a *cordial acquiescence* in God's *covenant, implies* and *includes* a *cordial submission* to the *terms* and *conditions* of it; otherwise, it is nothing but empty *ceremony*.

Upon the whole, the perfect agreement between St. PAUL and St. JAMES, in the article of *justification*, appears very clear, and certain. St. PAUL declares, that, in order to come at *justification*, it is necessary to stand upon *grace*, not upon *merit;* which St. JAMES does not *deny*,

* Jam. ii. 14,——26.

but

but *confirms* rather in what he says of the *perfect law of liberty*, Jam. i. 25. ii. 12. St. PAUL makes *faith* the *instrument* of *receiving* that grace; which St. JAMES does not dispute, but *approves* by what he says of ABRAHAM, (ii. 23.) only he maintains *also*, that, in the *conditionate* sense, *justification* depends *equally* upon *faith* and *good works*; which St. PAUL also *teaches* and *inculcates* in effect, or in other words, through all his writings. If St. PAUL had had precisely the *same question* before him which St. JAMES happened to have, he would have decided just as St. JAMES did: and if St. JAMES had had precisely the *same question* before him which St. PAUL had, he would have determined just as St. PAUL did. Their *principles* were exactly the *same*, but the questions were *diverse*, and they had different *adversaries* to deal with, and opposite *extremes* to encounter, which is a common case.

It may be noted, that that *faith* which I here call a *condition*, is of much wider compass than that *particular* kind of faith which is precisely the *instrument* of *justification*. For, *faith*, as a *condition*, means the *whole complex* of *Christian belief* as expressed in the *Creeds*; while *faith*, as an *instrument*, means only the laying hold on *grace*, and resting in CHRIST's *merits*, in opposition

tion to our *own deservings:* though this also, if it is a *vital* and *operative* principle (and if it is not, it is nothing worth) must of course *presuppose*, carry with it, and draw after it an hearty *submission* to, and *observance* of, all the necessary *conditions* of that *covenant* of *grace*, wherein we repose our whole trust and confidence. So that St. PAUL might well say, *Do we then make void the law* (the moral law) *through faith? God forbid: yea we establish the law**. We exempt no man from religious *duties*; which are *duties* still, though they do not *merit*, nor are practicable to such a degree as to be above the need of *pardon:* they are necessary *conditions*, in their measure, of *justification*; though not *sufficient* in themselves to justify, nor *perfect* enough to stand before God, or to abide trial: therefore CHRIST's *merits* must be taken in to *supply* their defects; and so our resting in CHRIST's *attonement*, by an humble, self-denying *faith*, is our last resort, our anchor of salvation both sure and stedfast, after we have otherwise done our utmost towards the fulfilling of God's sacred laws, towards the performing all the *conditions* required †.

That

* Rom. iii. 31. See *Norris* Pract. Disc. Vol. III. Disc. 3.

† Coram Deo Nihil valet quam *Filius* ejus charissimus, Jesus Christus: ad illum ubicunque est, respicit; in illo complacuit:

That *good works*, *internal* and *external*, are according as *opportunities* offer, and *circumstances* permit, *conditions* properly so called, is clear from the whole tenour of *Scripture*, as hath been often and abundantly proved by our own *divines**, and is admitted by the most judicious among the *foreign reformed*†.

Yet some have been very scrupulous as to this innocent name, even while they allow the *absolute necessity* of good *works*, as indispensable *qualifications* for future blessedness. Why not *conditions* therefore, as well as *qualifications*?

complacuit: hic *totus* sanctus & purus est coram illo. Filius autem non per *Opera*, sed per *Fidem* in corde absque omni Opere, *apprehenditur*. Charitas & Opera nec sunt nec esse possunt *Filius* Dei, aut *justitia* quæ coram Deo *pura* & sancta sit, ut est *Filius*. Itaque per se non consistunt coram Deo ut *justitia pura*, qualis est *Filius*. Quod vero *justa* & *sancta* vocentur, ex *Gratia* fit, non ex *jure*: neque illa æque respicit Deus ut *Filium*, sed tantum propter *Filium* ea tolerat, & fert illorum Impuritatem: imo *coronat* ea & Præmiis afficit, sed id omne propter Filium; qui in Corde habitat per *Fidem*. *Luther*. in Seckendorf. Lib. III. p. 357. A. D. 1541.

* *Bull*. Op. Latin. p. 412, 414, 415, 430, 434, 514, 516, 544, 583, 645, 668. Edit. ult.

Stillingfleet's Works, Vol. III. p. 367, 380, 393, 398. *Tillotson's* Posth. Serm. Vol. II. p. 484, 487.

† *Vossius* de Bonis Operibus, Thes. x. p. 370. Op. Tom. VI. *Frid. Spanhem. fil.* Op. Tom. III. p. 141, 159.

Conf. *Gul. Forbes*, Consid. Modest. p. 195, *&c.*

tions? Perhaps, because that name might appear to strike at *absolute* Predestination, or *unconditional* Election; and there may lie the scruple: otherwise, the difference appears to lie rather in *words* than in *things*.

Some will have them called not *conditions*, but *fruits* or *consequents* of justification. If they mean, by *justification*, the same as the *grace* of the Holy Spirit, and the *first* grace of *faith* springing from it; they say true*: and then there is nothing more in it than an *improper* use of the word *justification*, excepting that from *abuse* of *words* very frequently arises some corruption of *doctrine*.

* Nemo computet bona Opera *ante* Fidem; ubi *Fides* non erat, *bonum Opus* non erat: Bonum enim Opus *Intentio* facit, intentionem *Fides* dirigit. *Augustin.* in Psal. xxxi. p. 172. Tom. IV.

Crede in Eum qui justificat Impium, ut possint & bona opera tua esse *opera bona:* Nam nec *bona* illa appellaverim, quamdiu non de *Radice bona* procedunt. *Ibid.* p. 174.

N. B. St. *Austin* is not constant in his notion of *good works*, but he uses the phrase in a twofold sense, *larger* or *stricter*. Sometimes he means by *good works*, works flowing from *grace* and *faith* whether before or after baptism; as he does here: and sometimes he means works strictly *christian*, subsequent to the *incorporation* in baptism, that is, subsequent to *justification*. The want of observing this his twofold use of the phrase, has led some uncautious readers into mistakes.

If they mean only, that *outward* acts of righteousness are *fruits* of *inward* habits or dispositions; that also is undoubtedly true: but that is no reason why *internal* acts, virtues, graces *(good works* of the *mind)* should not be called *conditions* of the *primary* justification; or why the *outward* acts should not be justly thought *conditions* of *preserving* it.

But if they mean that *justification* is ordinarily given to *adults*, without any preparative or previous *conditions* of *faith* and *repentance*, that indeed is very *new* doctrine and *dangerous*, and opens a wide door to *carnal security*, and to all *ungodliness*. But enough of this matter.

The sum of what has been offered under the present head is, that we are *justified* by God the *Father*, considered as *principal*, and *first mover*; and by God the *Son*, as *meritorious* purchaser; and by God the *Holy Ghost*, as immediate *efficient*; and by *baptism*, as the ordinary *instrument* of *conveyance*; and by *faith* of such a kind, as the ordinary *instrument* of *reception*; and *lastly*, by *faith* and *holiness*, as the necessary *qualifications* and *conditions* in *adults*, both for the first *receiving*, and for the perpetual *preserving*

serving it*. Such, and so many are the *concurring causes*, operating, in their order and degree, towards man's *first*, or *final justification*. It would be altogether wrong to *separate* them, or

* The order of *justification* is thus expressed in K. *Edward's* Catechism, written by *Poynet*, A. D. 1553, countenanced by the other Bishops and Clergy, and published by the King's authority.

" 1. The *first* and *principal*, and most proper cause of our " *justification* and *salvation*, is the goodness and love of God, " whereby he chose us before the world.

" 2. After that, God granteth us to be *called* by the preach- " ing of the Gospel of *Jesus Christ*; when the *Spirit* of the " Lord is poured upon us: by whose guiding and governance " we be led to settle our *trust* in God, and *hope* for the per- " formance of his promise.

" 3. With this *choice* is joined, as companion, the *morti-* " *fying* of the *old man*, that is, of our affections and lusts.

" 4. From the same *Spirit* also cometh our *sanctification*, " the *love* of *God* and of our *neighbour*; justice and upright- " ness of life.

" 5. *Finally*, to say all in sum, whatever is in us, or may be " done of us, honest, pure, true, and good; that altogether " springeth out of this pleasant rock. The goodness, love, " choice, and unchangeable purpose of God, he is the *cause*; " the rest are the *fruits* and *effects*.

" 6. Yet are also the *choice* and *Spirit* of God and *Christ* " himself *causes* conjoined and coupled with each other: " which may be reckoned amongst the *principal causes* of " salvation.

" 7. As oft therefore as we use to say, that we are *made* " *righteous* and *saved* by *faith only*, it is meant thereby, that

 " *faith*,

or to set them *one against another*, or to *advance* any *one*, or *more*, to the *exclusion* of the *rest*.

I may observe further, for the preventing any mistake or misconception, that I might have considered *baptism* as an *external instrument* of *reception*, in the hand of *man*, as man bears a part in that sacrament; and so there would be *two* instruments of *reception*, external and internal, *baptism* and *faith*: and if any one chuses so to state the case, I shall not object to it.

"*faith*, or rather *trust alone* doth *lay hard upon**, understand, "and perceive our *righteous-making* to be given us of God "*freely*; that is to say, by no *deserts* of our own, but by the "*free grace* of the Almighty Father.

"8. Moreover *faith* doth ingender in us *love* of our neigh- "bour, and such *works* as God is pleased withal: for, if it be "a *lively* and *true* faith, quickened by the Holy Ghost, she is "the mother of all good saying and doing. By this short "tale, it is evident by what means we attain to be righteous. "For, not by the *worthiness* of our own deservings were we "heretofore *chosen*, or long ago *saved*, but by the *only mercy* of "God, and *pure grace* of Christ our Lord; whereby we were "in him made to *do* those *good works* that God had appointed "for us to walk in. And although *good works* cannot *deserve* "to make us righteous before God, yet do they so *cleave* unto "*faith*, that neither *faith* can be found *without* them, nor "*good works* be any where found *without* faith." Fol. 68, in *Heylin* Quinquartic. Contr. p. 105.

* For *hold*.

But

But having mentioned *baptism* before, as the *instrument* of *conveyance* on *God's* part, which is most considerable, I thought it of less moment to bring it up again under a different view, because that would be understood of course.

I cannot dismiss this head without throwing in a word or two of the wise provisions made by our Church, in bringing *children* to *baptism*, that they may be both *regenerated* and *justified* from the first. It is right and safe for the children themselves: and not only so; but the very doing it is further of use to prevent, or remove the perplexities raised by contentious men on the subject of *justification*.

Some will tell you that *good works* are not *conditions* of justification: it is certainly true in the case of *infants* (which is the common case with us) for neither *works*, nor *faith*, are *conditions* required of *them*: they are *justified* without either, by the *free mercy* of *God*, through the alone *merits* of CHRIST.

Some will plead, that man is utterly *unable* to do *good works* before he is *justified* and *regenerated*: they should rather say, before he receives *grace*; for that is the real, and the full truth. But what occasion or need is there, for disturbing

disturbing common Christians at all with points of this nature now? Are we not all of us, or nearly all, (ten thousand to one) *baptized* in *infancy;* and therefore *regenerated* and *justified* of course, and thereby prepared for *good works*, as soon as capable of them by our years? *Good works* must, in this case at least (which is *our* case) *follow* after *justification* and *regeneration*, if they are at all: and therefore how impertinent and frivolous is it, if not hurtful rather, to amuse the ignorant with such notions, which, in our circumstances, may much better be spared? Our Church has so well provided for that case, by *infant baptism*, that we need not so much as enquire whether good works *precede*, or *follow* justification in the case of *adults*, since it is not our case. We are very sure that, in *our* circumstances, *good works* do not *precede*, but *follow* justification, because they come after *baptism*, if they come at all. The truth, and the whole truth of this matter seems to lie in the following particulars.

1. *Infants* are *justified* in *baptism*, without either *faith*, or *works;* and, if they *grow up* in *faith* and *obedience*, the privilege is *continued* to them: if not, it is *taken away* from them, till they *repent*.

2. *Adults*,

2. *Adults*, coming *fitly prepared*, are immediately *justified* in *baptism*, by *faith*, without any *outward* works, without a *good life*, while they *have not time* for it; but if a *good life* does not *ensue afterwards*, when *time* and *opportunities are given*; they *forfeit* the privilege received, till they *repent*.

3. *Adults*, coming to baptism in *hypocrisy* or *impenitency* (like SIMON MAGUS) are not *justified*, whatever their *faith* be; because they want the *necessary* and *essential qualifications*, or *conditions*: but, if they afterwards turn to God with *true faith* and *repentance*; then they enter into a *justified* state, and so continue all along, unless they *relapse*.

4. Neither *faith* nor *works* are required in *infants*: both *faith* and *inward works* (a change of heart) are required in *all* adults: *faith* and *works (inward* and *outward)* are indispensably required in all *adults* who *survive* their baptism, in proportion to their *opportunities*, *capacities*, or *abilities*. But enough of this.

V.

Having hitherto endeavoured to explain the *nature*, and to set forth the *causes* and *instruments* of *justification*, in as clear a manner as I could;

could; I proceed now, *lastly*, to point out some *extremes*, which many have been found to run into, on the right hand, or on the left: so hard a thing is it to observe a middle course, and to pursue the safe and even road. Those *extremes* or *deviations* are many, but are reducible to two; one of which, for distinction sake, I may call the *proud extreme*, as disdaining to accept the *grace of God*, or the *merits of* CHRIST; the other may be called the *libertine extreme*, as abusing the doctrines of *grace* and *satisfaction*, to serve the ends of *licentiousness*.

1. I shall begin with the *proud extreme*. The *Pagans*, formerly, were so proud of their *good morals*, that they conceived they had no need of CHRIST, either to make them better, or to secure the divine acceptance; and therefore they would not so much as listen to the terms of *Christianity* *.

* Multi enim gloriantur de *Operibus*, & invenis multos *Paganos* propterea nolle fieri Christianos, quia quasi sufficiunt sibi de *bona Vita* sua. *Bene vivere* Opus est, ait: Quid mihi præcepturus est Christus? Ut bene vivam? jam bene vivo: Quid Mihi necessarius est Christus? Nullum *Homicidium*, nullum *Furtum*, nullam *Rapinam* facio, Res alienas non *concupisco*, nullo *Adulterio* contaminor: nam inveniatur aliquid in *Vita* mea quod *reprehendatur*, & Qui *reprehenderit*, faciat Christianum. *Augustin.* in Psal. xxx. Enarr. ii. p. 171. Tom. IV.

The

The *Pharisaical* JEWS were as proud, or prouder, in their way, claiming, as it were, *justification* as a debt *, rather than a *favour*, as if they had no need of *grace*, or were too exalted to accept of *pardon*. This high conceit of themselves and their own perfections, made them averse to CHRIST, and kept them from submitting to the *Gospel-way* of *justification*, or *salvation*.

The *Pelagians*, of the fifth century, by overmagnifying *free-will* and *natural* abilities, at the same time depreciating, or slighting *Divine grace*, unwarily fell into the *proud extreme*; though not so grievously as the *Jews* and *Pagans* had done before. St. AUSTIN, however, very justly made use of the same way of reasoning against *them*, which St. PAUL had made use of against *Jews* and *Pagans*; because the same *general reasons* concluded equally against *all* †.

The

* Rom. iv. 4. xi. 6. Compare *Truman.* Great Propitiation, p. 184, 300.

† Hoc possumus dicere quod de Lege dicit Apostolus, si *per Naturam* Justitia, ergo *Christus gratis mortuus est.*——Qui suis *Meritis* Præmia tamquam *debita* expectant, nec ipsa Merita Dei *Gratiæ* tribuunt, sed *viribus* propriæ *voluntatis*, sicut dictum est de carnali *Israel, persequentes Legem Justitiæ, in Legem Justitiæ non perveniunt. Quare? Quia non ex*

 Fide,

The *Schoolmen* of later days, and the *Romanists* still later, one by setting up a kind of *merit* of *congruity* * as to works preceding justification, and the other by maintaining a *merit* of *condignity* † with respect to works following, and by admitting *works of supererogation* ‡, have apparently run too far into the *proud extreme*; only differently modified, or under a *form*, somewhat different from that of the self-assuming claimants of older times. Wherefore the first *reformers*, finding that the same *general* reasons, which St. Paul had made use of in another case, might be justly applicable in this case also; they laid hold of them, and urged them with irresistible force, against all kinds of human *merit*, or pretended *merit*, however dis-

Fide, sed tamquam ex Operibus. Rom. ix. 31, 32. Ipsa est enim Justitia ex Fide, quam Gentes apprehenderunt, de quibus dictum est. *Rom.* ix. 30.——Ipsa est Justitia ex Fide, qua credimus nos *justificari*, hoc est, *justos fieri*, Gratiâ Dei per Jesum Christum Dominum nostrum—Quæ ex Deo Justitia in Fide, in *Fide* utique est, qua credimus nobis Justitiam *Divinitus* dari, non *a Nobis*, in *Nobis*, *nostris Viribus* fieri. *Augustin.* Paulino Epist. CLXXXVI. p. 664, 666. Tom. II.

* Against *Merit of Congruity*, See the XIIIth Article of our Church.

† *Concil. Trident.* Sess. VI. Can. 32. *Bellarmin.* de Justificat. L. V. c. 17.

‡ Against which, See the XIVth Article of our Church.

guised,

guised, or however set off with art, or subtilty. Thus came the doctrine of justification by *faith alone* *, that is to say, by the *alone merits* and *cross of* CHRIST (as Bishop JEWEL interprets it †) to be a distinguishing principle of the *reformation*.

The *Socinians*, by rejecting CHRIST's *satisfaction*, and of course standing upon their *own works* as *available* to salvation, *independent* of it, have only chosen another way of committing the same fault, and of running into the *proud extreme*.

The *Deists*, who boast of their *morality* ‡, in opposition to *Gospel-faith* and *Gospel-obedience*, are, in this respect, so nearly allied to the

* See the XIth Article of our Church.

† *Jewel*, Def. of Apology, p. 66.

‡ Their main principle is thus expressed in a Latin distich.

Haud crucient Animum quæ circa Religionem
Vexantur Lites; Sit modo Vita proba.

Baro. Herbert. See my *Discourse on Fundamentals*, p. 57, 58, 59.

Near akin to these, are such as magnify *moral virtues*, *Pagan virtues*, as acceptable in themselves, and needing no *atonement*, nor *sacrament*, to recommend them to the divine acceptance. See *The Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy of the Christian Sacraments*, p. 56, 57, 65. And *Supplement*, p. 40, 41, &c. 52, 53, 54.

Pagan philosophers who lived in Christian times, that they may be said to fall under the same predicament with them, excepting only the additional aggravation of their *apostasy* from the faith whereunto they had been baptized.

Those *enthusiasts*, who fear not to boast even of a *sinless perfection* in this life; they, (whatever their *pretences* are) are remarkably peccant in the *proud extreme*, even to a degree of *madness*, and stand condemned by many express passages both of Old Testament and New.

Lastly, If there be any amongst us, as probably there may, who, though knowing themselves to be *sinners*, yet think that the *good works* of *alms*, or other the like bounden duties, will *satisfy* for their *sins;* and who thereupon conceive that God would do them *wrong*, if he should not, for their *good* deeds, *pardon* their *evil* deeds; such also may be said to err in the *proud extreme*, not considering that all their *good deeds* are only so many *strict dues*, and that the paying off a debt *in part* entitles no man to a *discharge* for the *remainder*. God, for CHRIST's sake *, may give a discharge for the *whole*,

* Non patitur enim *justum* Dei Judicium, ut *justum* censeat Aliquem qui *Justitiam* non habeat: Non habet vero *Justitiam*

whole, to every *penitent* offender, after his sincerely performing *some part* of his duty: but a man's own *good works*, be they ever so many, or so great, cannot *in themselves* be pleaded by way of proper *atonement* for his sins.

Having thus briefly enumerated the most, or the most common *mistakes* or *miscarriages* in the matter of *justification*, on the *assuming* side,

Justitiam ullam *Peccator* nisi in *Christo*, & per mysticam arctissimamque illam *Unionem* cum Christo. *Jerem.* xxiii. 6. — 2 *Cor.* v. 21. 1 *Cor.* i. 30. Quæque ideo tantopere inculcatur in N. T. ubi Fideles sexcentis in Locis dicuntur esse *in Christo*. Et celebratur pariter in V. T. in *Psal.* xlv. *Cantico Canticorum* toto. *Isa.* liv. 5. *Hos.* ii. 18, 19. Quia scilicet *in ea* est Fundamentum *Justificationis* Peccatoris coram Deo. Vinculum vero hujus *Unionis* præcipuum, absque quo *Unio* hæc nullatenus consistit, est *Fides* actualis in Christum, moriturum olim, nunc mortuum, in Adultis; vel *Spiritus Fidei* in Infantibus electis. *Wesselius*, Dissert. Academ. p. 148. Tum tandem *justificari* Peccatorem coram Deo *sola Fide*, qua *dextram* dat Sponso ac Sponsori, ejusque *dextram* tenet, & qua sola *connubium stabile* cum ipso contrahens, *Justitia vicaria* ejus imputatur illi ut *sua*, & Jus accipit ad omnia ejus Bona. ——Bona Opera postea imponuntur justificatæ (Reginæ) ut in quibus non est *Causa* regnandi, sed *Via* tantum ad Regnum Gloriæ. Omnes ergo externe *vocati* (quibus *Rex* Messias Sponsor Fœderis, cum *Justitia vicaria*, omnique *Gratia* ejus quotidie offertur in Evangelio, Quibusque ipse *dextram suam conjugalem* blande porrigit) semetipsos diligenter & serio examinare debent, num huic *Reginæ*, seu *Ecclesiæ* veræ, ut ejus *Membra* genuina, accenseri queant. *Ibid.* p. 281.

derogating

derogating from the honour of God's *free grace*, and from the *merits* of CHRIST, which are the valuable *consideration* upon which, or for the sake of which only, God *justifies* as many as he does justify; I shall now proceed to observe something of the common *mistakes* in the *other extreme*, which concerns the necessary, essential *conditions*, or *qualifications* required in every *adult* whom God shall accept.

2. It is a dangerous and fatal *extreme* so to *magnify*, or to pretend to magnify *grace*, or *faith*, as thereby to *exclude*, *sink*, or any way *lessen* the *necessity* of true and sincere, and (so far as human infirmities permit) universal *obedience* *. There is the greater need of the utmost caution and circumspection in this particular,

* *Signa* Fidei justificantis sunt 1. *Totum* velle Christum suum esse, non tantum ut *Sacerdotem*, sed etiam ut *Regem*. 2. *Solum* velle Christum, cum Abnegatione *Justitiæ propriæ*, omniumque *Sanctorum*, quæ nulla est. 3. *Gaudere* in *Fide*, & animosa in adversis *Fiducia* stare ad Dextram Regis, eique adhærere, etiam dum ducit per Ignes & Aquas. 4. *Abnegare* Voluntatem *propriam* quandoque *naturalem*, semper *pravam* ac *perversam*, & Regis *voluntati* arcanæ & revelatæ se patienter ac prompte submittere. Si Horum nihil in semetipsis deprehendant, hoc ipso Momento, absque ulla dilatione, *Fide sincera* Fœdus *conjugale* contrahant, *&c.*——Si vero horum aliquid in se ipsis inveniant Gratias immortales agant. ——*Stent* porro in Fide animosi, &c. p. 281, 282.

cular,

cular, because corrupt nature is very prone to listen to, and to fall in with any appearing arguments, any pretexts, colours, handles for *relaxation of duty*, and for *reconciling* their *hopes* and their *lusts* together. St. PAUL was aware, that some ill minds might be apt to pervert his sound doctrine of *justification* by *faith*, to the purposes of *licentiousness*; but *truth* was not to be suppressed for fear some should *abuse* it (for what is there which some or other may not make an ill use of?) Neither would it have been right to let *one extreme* go *uncorrected*, only for the preventing the possible, or even probable danger from weak, or evil-minded men, who might take the handle to run into *another*. St. PAUL therefore was content so to correct an error on the right hand, as, at the same time, to guard against a greater on the left *.

Notwithstanding all his *guards*, some there were (as he supposed there would be) who even in the *Apostolical age* did *pervert* the doctrine of *grace*, to serve the ends of *licentiousness*: and some or other, probably, have done the like, designedly or undesignedly, in every age since.

* See Rom. iii. 31, vi. 1, &c.

St.

St. PAUL had taught, that none of our *works* are *pure*, or *perfect* enough to abide the *divine scrutiny*, or to *claim* justification as a debt *, or a matter of *right*; which is undoubtedly true: but *libertines* changed that *true* and *sound* proposition into this very *unsound* one; that *good works* are not so much as necessary *conditions* or *qualifications* for *justification*. St. PAUL had also taught, that *faith*, or an humble *reliance* upon the *grace* of God through the merits of CHRIST, in opposition to *self-boasting* †, or standing upon the *perfection* of *our own performances*, was our only *safe plea* before God, our only *sure way* to be *justified*, after doing the best we could for performing our bounden duties: this *true* and *important* proposition some turned into quite another, *contradictory* to the whole tenour of the *Gospel*; viz. that *faith alone*, a *dead* faith, separate from evangelical *obedience*, is the *only condition* of salvation. Against such *dogmatizers*, and against such *loose principles* St. JAMES engaged, reproving and confuting the men and their errors in few, but very strong words ‡. St. PETER also and St.

* Rom. iv. 4, xi. 6.

† Rom. iii. 27. 1 Cor. i. 29, 31. Ephes. ii. 9. Rom. iv. 2.

‡ James ii. 14—26.

JOHN,

JOHN, though more obscurely, combated the same error*.

That some or other, in after ages, were very prone to run into the extreme of *licentiousness*, taking an handle from the doctrine of *grace;* as others are apt to run into the *proud extreme*, from the doctrine of the *value* and *necessity* of a *good life;* may be judged from what a *Father* of the Vth century says in opposition to *both* †.

It is certain that the *Antinomian* and *Solifidian* doctrines, as taught by some in later times, have deviated into a *wild extreme*, and have done infinite mischief to *practical Christianity*. I have not room to enumerate, much less to con-

* 2 Pet. i. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. 1 John iii. 7, 8, 9, 10.

† Si se Homo justificaverit, & de *Justitia sua* præsumserit *cadit:* Si considerans & cogitans Infirmitatem suam, & præsumens de *Misericordia Dei*, neglexerit Vitam suam mundare a Peccatis suis, & se omni Gurgite Flagitiorum demerserit, & *ipse cadit*. Præsumtio de Justitia quasi *dextera* est: Cogitatio de Impunitate Peccatorum, quasi *sinistra* est. Audiamus Vocem Dei dicentem Nobis, *ne declines in dexteram aut sinistram*, Prov. iv. 27. Ne præsumas ad Regnum *de Justitia tua:* Ne præsumas ad peccandum de Misericordia Dei. Ab utroque Te revocat Præceptum divinum, & ab illa *Altitudine*, & ab ista *Profunditate:* Illuc si ascenderis, præcipitaberis; hac si lapsus fueris, demergeris, *Augustin.* in Psal. xxxi. p. 171. Tom. IV.

fute, the many *erroneous* and *dangerous tenets* which have come from that quarter: neither would I be forward to expose them again to public view. They have been often *considered*, and often *confuted*. Let them rather be buried in oblivion, and never rise up again to bring reproach upon the *Christian name*. But take we due care so to maintain the doctrine of *faith*, as not to *exclude* the *necessity* of *good works;* and so to maintain *good works*, as not to *exclude* the *necessity* of CHRIST's *atonement*, or the *free grace* of God. Take we care to perform all evangelical duties to the utmoſt of our power, aided by God's Spirit; and when we have so done, say, that we are *unprofitable servants*, having no strict *claim* to a reward, but yet looking for one, and accepting it as a *favour*, not challenging it as *due* in any right of our *own;* due only upon *free promiſe*, and that promiſe made not in conſideration of any *deſerts of ours*, but in and through the alone *merits*, active and paſſive, of CHRIST JESUS our Lord.

THE END.

Printed by J. Hales, Old Boswell Court.

A Complete and Correct CATALOGUE *of the late* Dr. DANIEL WATERLAND'S *Works, or Writings, in order of Time wherein they were published.*

1713. A SERMON, preached at St. Mary's, Cambridge, at the Aſſizes held there July the 21ſt, 1713.
1716. A Thankſgiving Sermon before the Univerſity of Cambridge, for Suppreſſion of the Rebellion, June 7th, 1716.
1719. A Vindication of Chriſt's Divinity, being a Defence of ſome Queries relating to Dr. Clarke's Scheme of the Holy Trinity.
1720. Eight Sermons in Defence of the Divinity of our Saviour Chriſt, at Lady Moyer's Lecture in St. Paul's.
—— An Anſwer to Dr. Whitby's Reply, being a Vindication of the Charge of Fallacies, &c. reſpecting his Diſquiſitiones Modeſtæ. (N. B. The Charge of Fallacies, &c. of which this laſt Piece is a Vindication, is contained in the Defence of Queries, p. 399—420.)
1721. The Caſe of Arian-Subſcription conſidered.
—— An Anſwer to ſome Queries printed at Exon. relating to the Arian Controverſy.
—— A Sermon, preached before the Sons of the Clergy.
1722. A Supplement to the *Caſe of Arian-Subſcription.*
—— Scripture and Arians compared, in the Account of God the Father and God the Son.
1723. A Second Vindication of Chriſt's Divinity, or a Second Defence of ſome Queries.
—— A familiar Diſcourſe upon the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity and the Uſe and Importance of it.
—— A Thankſgiving Sermon before the Lord Mayor on the 29th of May.
—— Religious Education of Children. Recommended in a Sermon to the Charity Schools.
—— A Critical Hiſtory of the Athanaſian Creed.
1724. A farther Vindication of Chriſt's Divinity, in Anſwer to Obſervations on the Second Defence of ſome Queries.
1730. Remarks on "Dr. Clarke's Expoſition of the Church Catechiſm."
—— The Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy of the Chriſtian Sacraments conſidered, in Reply to an Anſwer to "*The Remarks.*"

1730. A Supplement to *The Nature, Obligation, and Efficacy of the Chriſtian Sacraments.*

—— A Defence of the Biſhop of St. David's; in anſwer to Jonathan Jones.

—— Advice to a Young Student in the Univerſity.

—— Scripture vindicated, in Anſwer to Chriſtianity as old as the Creation. Part I. [In the third Edition a general Preface was prefixed, which is ſold ſeparately, giving an Account of the literal, figurative, and myſtical Interpretation of Scripture.]

1731. Chriſtianity vindicated againſt Infidelity. A Charge delivered to the Clergy of Middleſex. Part I.

—— Scripture vindicated. In Anſwer to Chriſtianity as old as the Creation. Part II.

1732. Chriſtianity vindicated againſt Infidelity. A Charge. Part II.

—— Scripture vindicated. In Anſwer to Chriſtianity as old as the Creation. Part III.

1734. A Diſſertation on the Argument, à priori, for proving the Exiſtence of a Firſt Cauſe. A Letter to Mr. Law. [See at the End of Mr. Law's Enquiry into the Ideas of Space, &c.]

—— The Importance of the Doctrine of the Holy Trinity.

1735. A Diſcourſe on Fundamentals. A Charge. Part I.

—— Ditto. Part II.

1736. The Doctrinal Uſe of the Chriſtian Sacraments. A Charge.

1737. A Review of the Doctrine of the Euchariſt.

1738. The Chriſtian Sacrifice explained. A Charge.

1739. The Sacramental Part of the Euchariſt explained. A Charge.

1740. Regeneration ſtated and explained; being the Subſtance of two Sermons preached at Windſor.

—— Preface to Mr. Blair's Sermons. (Commiſſary of Virginia.)

—— The Diſtinctions of Sacrifice ſet forth. A Charge.

N. B. Some Letters concerning the Doctrine of the Trinity, wrote by Dr. Waterland to Mr. Staunton, in the Year 1720, were publiſhed by the ſaid Mr. Staunton, at the End of a Treatiſe called Reaſon and Revelation ſtated, in the Year 1722.

No. IV.

THE

CHURCHMAN'S REMEMBRANCER:

BEING

A COLLECTION OF SCARCE AND VALUABLE TREATISES

IN DEFENCE OF THE TRULY PRIMITIVE

DOCTRINES AND DISCIPLINE

OF THE

ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

Enquire, I pray thee, of the former age, and prepare thyself to the search of their fathers: For we are but of yesterday, and know nothing.—Job, viii. 8, 9.

Ο παλαιος χρηστοτερος εστιν. Luc. v. 39.

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1805.

THE

SUMME

AND

SUBSTANCE

OF THE

CONFERENCE

Which it pleaſed his Excellent Majeſtie to have with the Lords Biſhops, and others of his Clergie (at which the moſt of the Lords of the Councill were preſent) in his Majeſties Privie-Chamber, at *Hampton* Court *Jan.* 14. 1603.

CONTRACTED BY

WILLIAM BARLOW

DOCTOR OF DIVINITY, AND DEAN OF CHESTER.

Whereunto are added ſome Copies (ſcattered abroad) unſavory, and untrue.

ADVERTISEMENT.

BISHOP BARLOW's account of the Hampton-Court Conference, as a ſingle tract, is now become ſcarce, and is not frequently to be found entire in books of hiſtory, or in collections of tracts. It was publiſhed about a century ago, in a work called the PHŒNIX; conſidered then as a tract no where to be found, but in the cloſets of the curious. The frequent references to it, lately made by certain writers, have induced the Editors of the "Churchman's Remembrancer" to bring forward this intereſting Account, in full confidence that it will prove an acceptable preſent to the public, and be ſerviceable to the cauſe of ſober religion. With reſpect to the authority of the piece as an authentic report of the Conference, there has been, as muſt be expected, ſome little debate; the adherents to the worſted party affecting to call in queſtion the veracity of the good Biſhop, whilſt the victorious receive it as a true and faithful nar-

rative. The objections to this account of Biſhop Barlow are to be ſeen in the writings of James Peirce, and Daniel Neale. Peirce, in his Vindication of the Diſſenters, a work which we believe has long enjoyed the rank of a text book among that party, confidently ſpeaks of this Account as a falſe one, and gives a more true and exact one from Mr. Calderwood. He argues that Biſhop Barlow's account cannot be a true one, becauſe it repreſents Dr. Raynolds, who was celebrated for one of the moſt famous divines of his age, as talking at the Conference in a ſtupid, ſilly, and childiſh way; and aſſerts, that the Biſhop repented upon his death-bed of the wrong he had done Dr. Raynolds and his brethren. Neal ſays, That this Conference was publiſhed at large only by Dr. Barlow, who being a party, ſays Fuller, ſet a ſharp edge on his own, and a blunt one on his adverſaries weapons. He quotes Peirce to ſhew, that Drs. Sparks and Raynolds complained, that they were wronged in that relation; that Dr. Jackſon declared that Barlow repented of it upon his death-bed; and that Calderwood, by means of Patrick Galloway, has ſet things in a different light. He further ſays from Peirce, (which Peirce gives from an old Pamphlet,) "It is "very certain that Biſhop Barlow has cut off "and concealed all the ſpeeches that his "Majeſty

" Majeſty made againſt the corruptions of the " Church, and the practices of the Prelates, " &c. That the Puritans objected to the " account of the Conference by Dean Barlow, " as publiſhed without the knowledge, advice " or conſent of the other ſide." (Hiſt. of the Pur. Vol. 1.) So much for the objections againſt the Account of this Conference, which originate for the moſt part with Peirce. On the other ſide of the queſtion, we offer the following obſervations and authorities.

Peirce boldly calls Biſhop Barlow's, a falſe account; but, for ought to be ſeen in his Vindication, there is nothing brought to prove it ſo. That " Calderwood's ſhould appear at firſt ſight " vaſtly different from Biſhop Barlow's rela- " tion," appears neither ſtrange nor at all incredible; and ſurely he would not have us conſider the mere circumſtance of the difference of the two relations, as any proof that Barlow's is falſe. Calderwood was a Preſbyterian; he ſends his brief account, *adopted* from a letter of Patrick Galloway, a Preſbyterian, to the Preſbytery at Edinburgh. But we muſt not forget, that Calderwood's Hiſtory is a poſthumous work, extracted from materials written by him, during his retirement in Holland; " whither he " had been driven by James and his Privy-

" council, for his ſingular obſtinacy and inſo-
" lence;" ſays Skinner. (Eccl. Hiſt. of Scot-
land, V. 2. p. 265.) Barlow's Account is not
the report of himſelf alone, nor of the Confer-
ence *at large*, as Neale erroneouſly ſpeaks.
He deſires the reader to take it " but as an
" *extract*, wherein is the ſubſtance of the
" whole. Intercourſe of ſpeeches, ſays he,
" there occaſioned, would cauſe prolixity,
" without profit. What every man ſaid, point
" device, I neither could nor cared to obſerve.
" The vigor of every *objection*, with the ſum
" of each anſwer, I gueſs, I miſs not. For the
" firſt day, I had no help beyond mine own;
" yet ſome of good place and underſtanding
" have ſeen it, and not controled it, except for
" the brevity: For the two laſt, out of divers
" copies, I have ſelected what you ſee," viz.
" thoſe of the Biſhop of London, Deans of
" Chriſt-Church, Wincheſter and Windſor,
" the Archdeacon of Nottingham, and mine
" own." (See, To the Reader.) Peirce's quo-
tation from an old pamphlet, produced to
" throw light" upon the queſtion, has not the
effect upon us, to make us ſee our way the bet-
ter. It is without a name: we cannot there-
fore appreciate its authority. The deſign of it is
preciſely that which might be expected from the
diſappointed party. It complains that " Bar-
" low's

" low's account was publiſhed only by the Pre-
" lates, who are partial, without the know-
" ledge, advice or conſent, (how extraordi-
" nary!) of the other ſide, and ſo (moſt
" clearly!) deſerving of no credit; that the
" miniſters were unfairly uſed, &c. And
" concludes with affirming, that *all* and *every*
" *one* of the arguments and aſſertions pro-
" pounded in the Conference againſt them,
" by any Prelate, are moſt vain and frivolous;
" and that they would, if permitted, deliver in
" one week's ſpace, a full anſwer to any of
" them."

This is a bold aſſertion, and a very formidable challenge. But if the ſtatement and complaint of the Puritans had been juſt, why did they not give the public, as they were in duty bound, *their* ſum and ſubſtance of the Conference? If the Biſhop's was falſe, why did they not ſet forth a true and correct account? Yet ſo it has happened, that no account of any note has come down to us, but that of Biſhop Barlow: and this, notwithſtanding there were ſeveral able men at the Conference, of the Puritan party, who filled the country with grievous complaints of their hard treatment, and of the falſehood and partiality of the Biſhops' account.

Peirce

Peirce argues that Barlow's account cannot be true, becauſe he repreſents Dr. Raynolds, "who "was one of the moſt celebrated divines of his "age," as talking at the Conference in a ſtupid, ſilly, and childiſh manner. We are inclined to leave Dr. Raynolds's character for learning untouched: But it muſt be obſerved, that this very circumſtance, of his ſtupid and childiſh talking at the Conference, furniſhes an unanſwerable proof of Dr. Barlow's veracity, as an hiſtorian. For, ſays Fuller, (an author who, Strype was obliged to confeſs, ſays Peirce, was a little inclined to the Puritans, and therefore no objectionable authority with the Vindicator of the Diſſenters,) "It is generally ſaid, that "Dr. Raynolds fell much beneath himſelf: "beſides, no wonder, ſaid the Nonconfor-"miſts, that Dr. Raynolds a little loſt himſelf, "whoſe eyes were partly dazzled with the light "of the King's majeſty, partly daunted with "the heat of his diſpleaſure." (p. 21.)

In anſwer to Peirce's aſſertion, that "Biſhop "Barlow repented upon his death-bed, of the "wrong he had done Dr. Raynolds and his "brethren, which, he ſays, was atteſted by Dr. "Henry Jackſon," take the following paſſage from Heylin's Hiſt. of the Preſbyterians. (373.) He adopts the Biſhops' account without reſerve,

ſerve, and ſays; "The ſum and ſubſtance of "this Conference collected by the hand of Dr. "Barlow, then Dean of Cheſter, can hardly be "abbreviated to a leſſer compaſs without great "injury to the King and conferees." And afterwards, "The truth and honeſty of whoſe "collections having been univerſally approved "above 50 years, hath been impugned of late "by ſome ſorry ſcribblers of the Puritan faction; "and a report raiſed of ſome retractation which "he is fabled to have made at the time of his "death, of the great wrong which he had "done to Dr. Raynolds and the reſt of the mil-"lenaries; the fillineſs of which fiction hath "been elſewhere canvaſſed, and therefore not "to be repeated in this time and place. But "for the clearing of that reverend perſon from "ſo foul a calumny, we ſhall not make uſe of "any other arguments than the words of K. "James, who tells us, in his proclamation of "the fifth of March, That he did not con-"ceal that the ſucceſs of that Conference was "ſuch as happeneth to many other things, "which moving great expectations before they "be entered into, in their iſſue produce ſmall "effects. That he found mighty and vehement "informations, ſupported with ſo weak and "ſlender proofs, as it appeared unto him and "his council, that there was no cauſe why any

"change

" change ſhould be in that which was moſt im-
" pugned; viz. the book of Common Prayer,
" &c." It is probable that Heylin, when he mentions, " that the fillineſs of the fiction " has been elſewhere handled," alludes to his Poſtſcript at the end of the Quinquarticular Hiſt. in which he ſhews the very weak ground upon which the ſtory of Dr. Barlow's repenting ſtands. " Firſt, ſays he, the man is dead " from whom we are to take our greateſt light, " in ſo dark a buſineſs. Secondly, the credit of " the figment reſteth on two common vouchers, " that is to ſay, J. M. and H. I. as eaſy to be " found, and as honeſt folk, as Nicholas Nemo " in Utopia, or Madam Charity of the Oude- " meon Street in Mantinea. Thirdly, it muſt " needs ſeem ſtrange to a ſober reader, that " this great truth ſhould lie concealed, like a " ſpark raked up in aſhes, 55 years, and then " blaze out of a ſudden, when it was not " thought of. And, fourthly, I had once the " happineſs to be exceeding well acquainted " with Maſter Thomas Sparks, and Maſter " William Sparks, the only ſons of Dr. Sparks, " before remembered; and having had many " opportunities of diſcourſing with them about " that Conference, and their father's acting in " the ſame, I never heard the leaſt word from " either of them, of any wrong done, or ſup-

" poſed

" poſed to be done, by Dr. Barlow, in drawing " up the ſubſtance and abridgement of it: ſo " that I doubt not, but that it will appear on " the full debate, that Dr. Barlow is more " wronged in his fame by theſe libellers pam- " phlets, than ever Dr. Raynolds had been in- " jured by that learned Prelate."

Peirce is not ſatisfied with running down the authority of Barlow, in the unwarrantable manner we have ſhewn; impatient with his ill ſucceſs, perhaps, he contradicts a fact, and oppoſes to it his probable conjecture. " Dr. Ray- " nolds, ſays he, (154) *was not choſen* by our " ſide to manage the Conference; he and the " reſt were *probably pitched upon* by the Biſhops, " and then called to it by the King." Unfortunately for the credit of James Peirce, a well known Biographer of godly preachers, ſtiled by Calamy, a man of great plain-heartedneſs and ſincerity, (whom J. P. is not averſe to quote upon proper occaſions,) thus writes. " Chaderton was one of the four divines for the " Conference at Hampton Court, *choſen by the* " *miniſters* that deſired a reformation in church " Government, and for his learning and ſuffi- " ciency was the ſame year choſen to be one of " the tranſlators of the Bible." (Clarke's life of Chaderton, p. 169.) The reader will determine what

what degree of reſpect is due to ſuch a writer as this.

Neale, the author of the Hiſtory of the Puritans, follows Peirce's account; and adopts his objections and errors in almoſt every particular. We obſerve no original objections againſt Barlow's account, nor any argument offered to ſupport thoſe of Peirce. We mention him now, to notice one of many diſingenuous tricks, to ſerve his purpoſe and his party. Fuller, in his Church Hiſt. of Great Britain, gives this Conference in the form of dialogue; repreſenting the perſons there preſent, ſpeaking in the firſt perſon. But he appears to follow Biſhop Barlow in the ſubſtance of what is related, in all material points. At the concluſion he ſays, that, "Some Nonconformiſts complain that this Conference is partially ſet forth onely by Dr. Barlow, Dean of Cheſter, their profeſſed adverſary, to the great diſadvantage of their divines. And when the Iſraelites go down to the Philiſtines to whet all their iron tools, no wonder if they ſet a ſharp edge on their own, and a blunt one on their enemies weapons." (B. 10. p. 21.) Now, who but the Puritan Hiſtorian, could have converted this paſſage, into a poſitive condemnation of Barlow, for partiality? Neale's words are theſe, "Dr. Barlow, being a party

" a party, ſays Fuller, ſet a ſharp edge on " his own, and a blunt one on his adverſaries " weapons." The reader will obſerve, that Fuller ſays no ſuch thing. He ſays that the Nonconformiſts ſaid ſo. But the Puritan Hiſtorian, judging perhaps that Fuller's name would cut a figure among his Worthies, by this ſly trick, *ut mos eſt, et fieri ſolet*, makes him at once his own!

That valuable Hiſtorian Strype, is very ſtrong and explicit in favour of Barlow's Account. " That the very truth might appear, ſays he, " there was an *authentic* relation of it; (viz. " the Hampton Court Conference,) written by " one of the divines there preſent, viz. Barlow, " Dean of Cheſter; and that, by the Archbiſhop's own order, impoſing this work upon " him; which therefore we may conclude was " carefully reviewed by himſelf. And that it " might be more exact and compleat, it was " compared and enlarged by the writer, (before " it was publiſhed,) with the notes and copies " of the Biſhop of London, the Deans of " Chriſt-Church, Wincheſter, Windſor, and " the Archdeacon of Nottingham.

The reader will now be enabled to form a judgment for himſelf, with reſpect to the authencity

thencity of Biſhop Barlow's work. With reſpect to ourſelves, when we conſider that Biſhop Barlow's account of this famous Conference is admitted, by all parties, to be the only one ſet forth, and is accordingly by all parties continually quoted; that it was ſet forth, not upon his own authority alone, but with the aſſiſtance and allowance of ſeveral of the great men then preſent; that no objections to the authenticity of this account, of any conſequence, were brought forward for a conſiderable time after it took place; and that the beſt of thoſe objections were weakly and ſuſpiciouſly urged, and never proved; when we ſee two writers on the Puritan ſide, confeſſedly their beſt hands, one, quoting his author to make him ſpeak what he never intended, another confidently denying what a writer of their own affirms to have happened, and then proceeding to give a probable conjecture, in oppoſition to a matter of fact: without heſitation, we offer this Tract to the notice of the public, as well deſerving attention; it has paſſed the ordeal of its enemies utmoſt malice, and is found to be a true and faithful work.

Dec. 17, 1804.

TO THE

READER.

THIS Copy of the Conference *in* January *laſt, hath been long expected, and long ſince it was finiſhed: impeachments, of the divulging, were many; two main above the reſt: one, his* untimely death, who firſt impoſed it upon me, with whom is buried the famouſeſt glory of our* Engliſh *Church, and the moſt kind incouragment to paines and ſtudy:* A man happy in his life and death; loved of the beſt while he lived; and heard of God for his deceaſe; moſt earneſtly deſiring, not many dayes before he was ſtroken, that he might not (yet) live to ſee this Parliament, as neer as it was.

The other, an expectation of this late Co-

* Archiepiſco. Cantuar.

mitial Conference, *much threatned before, and triumphed in by many; as if that* Regal *and moſt* honourable *proceeding, ſhould thereby have received his* counterblaſt, *for being too forward. But his Majeſties* Conſtancy *having, by the laſt, added comfort and ſtrength to this former, which now, at length, comes abroad, therein,* good Reader, *thou mayeſt both ſee thoſe huge pretended* Scandals *(for which our flouriſhing Church hath been ſo long diſturbed) objected and removed; and withall behold the expreſſe and vive Image of a moſt learned and judicious King, whoſe manifold gifts of* Grace *and* Nature, *my ſcant meaſure of gift is not able to delineate, nor am I willing to enumerate, becauſe I have ever accounted the perſonal commendation of* living Princes, *in men of our ſort, a verbal Symonie; Such Flies there are too many, which puffe the ſkin, but taint the fleſh. His Majeſties humble deportment in thoſe ſublimities, will be the eternizing of his memory, the rather, becauſe* καταπεψαὶ τὸὲν ὄλϐον, to digeſt ſo great Felicity without ſurfet *of ſurquedry, is a* virtue, *rare in great perſonages, and that, which*

which the King of Heaven feared, even the King of his own choice would want. The more eminent he is, in all princely qualities, the happier ſhall we be: our duty, as we are Chriſtians, is Prayer *for him; as we are Subjects,* Obedience to him; *as we are men,* acknowledgment of our ſettled ſtate *in him; Our unthankfulneſſe may remove him, as it did the mirror of Princes, our late famous* Elizabeth. *She reſts with God, the* Phœnix *of her aſhes reignes over us, and long may he ſo do to Gods Glory, and the Churches good, which his excellent knowledge beautifieth, and government adjoyned will beatifie it. An hope of this laſt we conceive by his written* Βασίλικον: *a* Specimen *of the other, in this* Interlocutory Conference: *whereof take this, which is printed, but as an* Extract, *wherein is the* Subſtance *of the whole.* Intercourſe *of ſpeeches, there occaſioned, would cauſe prolixity without profit: what every man ſaid,* point deviſe, *I neither could, nor cared to obſerve; the vigor of every* objection, *with the ſumme of each* anſwer, *I gueſſe I miſſe not: For the firſt day, I had no help beyond mine own; yet*

ſome of good place and underſtanding, have ſeen it, and not controlled it, except for the brevity: for the two laſt out of divers * *Copies, I have ſelected and ordered what you here ſee: in them all, next unto God, the Kings Majeſty alone muſt have the Glory: Yet to ſay, that the preſent State of our Church, is very much obliged to the reverend Fathers, my Lords of* London *and* Winton, *their pains and dexterity in this buſineſſe, were neither* detraction *from other; nor* flattery *of them. His Highneſſe purpoſed to compoſe all quarrels of this kind, hereby, and ſuppoſing He had ſettled all matters of the Church, it pleaſed him ſo to ſignifie by* Proclamation *after it was done: but there is a* triple generation *in the World, of whom the* Wiſeman *ſpeaketh,* † *Marry I ſay nothing (for even private ſpeeches cannot now paſſe without the ſmeer of a* Black Cole.) *In one rank whereof you may place our* Hercules Limbomaſtix,

* *Ep. Lond.* Deanes of Chriſtch. Wincheſt. Windſor. Archdea. Nottingh. and mine own.

† Pro. 30. 12. 13. 14.

whom

whom it might have pleaſed, without this Gnathonicall *appeal, to have reſted His Majeſties determination, and being a* Synoptical Theologue ἐν πλατεῖ, *and angry that he was not, ſo,* κατ' ἐπιτομήν, *have learned the difference in Divinity, between* viam Regis, *and,* viam gregis.

Many Copies of divers ſorts have been ſcattered and ſent abroad, ſome partial, ſome untrue, ſome ſlanderous. What is here ſet down, for the truth thereof *ſhall be juſtified: the onely wrong therein, is to his Excellent Majeſty, a ſyllable of whoſe admirable ſpeeches, it was pitty to loſe, his words as they were uttered by him, being as* Solomon *ſpeaketh,* * like Apples of Gold, with pictures of Silver; *and therefore I requeſt thee,* good Reader, *when thou commeſt to any of his Highneſſe ſpeeches, to turn* Martial *his Apoſtrophe upon me.*

Tu malè jam recitas, incipit eſſe tuus,

and I will take it kindly. If thou be honeſt,

* Pro. 25. 11.

and

and courteous, thou wilt reſt ſatisfied, and that is my content: to lay a pillow for a Dog, ſorts neither with my leiſure, nor purpoſe. Farewell.

Thine in Chriſt Jeſu.

W. Barlow.

THE

FIRST DAYES

CONFERENCE.

THE day appointed was, as by his *Majeſties* Proclamation we all know, *Thurſday* the the 12. of *January*; On which there met at *Hampton* Court by nine of the clock, all the Biſhops and Deanes, ſummoned by letters, namely, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *London*, *Durham*, *Wincheſter*, *Worceſter*, S. *Davids*, *Chicheſter*, *Carleil*, and *Peterborow*: the Deanes of the Chapell, *Chriſts-Church*, *Worceſter*, *Weſtminſter*, *Pauls*, *Cheſter*, *Winſor*, with Doctor *Field*, and Doctor *King*, Arch-Deacon of *Nottingham*: who though the night before, they heard a rumor that it was deferred till the fourteenth day, yet according to the firſt ſummons, thought it their duty to offer themſelves to the Kings preſence, which they did, *At which time it pleaſed his Highneſſe to*

ſignifie unto the Biſhops, that the day having prevented, or deceived him, he would have them return on Saturday *next following:* On which day, all the Deanes and Doctors attending my Lords the Biſhops, into the preſence Chamber, there we found ſitting upon a form, Doctor *Reinolds*, Doctor *Sparkes*, Maſter *Knewſtubs*, and Maſter *Chaderton*, Agents for the Millenary plaintiffes. The Biſhops entring the privy Chamber, ſtaied there, till commandement came from his Majeſty, that none of any ſort, ſhould be preſent, but only the Lords of the Privie Council, and the Biſhops, with five Deanes, *viz.* Of the Chapel, *Weſtminſter*, *Pauls*, *Weſtcheſter*, *Saliſbury*, who being called in, the door was cloſe ſhut by my Lord Chamberlain.

After a while, his excellent Majeſty came in, and having paſſed a few pleaſant gratulations with ſome of the Lords, he ſat down in his Chair, removed forward from the cloth of State a pretty diſtance; *Where, beginning with a moſt grave, and Princely Declaration of his general drift in calling this aſſembly, no novel device, but according to the example of all Chriſtian Princes, who in the Commencement of their Reign, uſually take the firſt courſe for the eſtabliſhing of the Church, both for Doctrine, and Policie, to which the very Heathens themſelves had relation*

in their Proverb, A Jove Principium, *and particularly, in this Land, King* Henry *the* 8. *toward the end of his Reign; after him King* Edward *the* 6. *who altered more; After him Queen* Mary, *who reverſed all; And laſt the Queen of famous Memory, ſo his Highneſſe added (for it is worth noting, that his Majeſty never remembred her, but with ſome honourable addition) who ſettled it as now it ſtandeth; Wherein, he ſaid that he was happier than they, in this, becauſe they were fain to alter all things they found eſtabliſhed, but he ſaw yet no cauſe ſo much to alter, and change any thing, as to confirm that which he found well ſetled already; which ſtate as it ſeemed, ſo affected his Royal heart, that it pleaſed him both to enter into a gratulation to Almighty God, (at which words, he put off his hat) for bringing him into the promiſed Land, where Religion was purely profeſſed, where he ſate among grave learned and reverend men, not, as before, elſewhere, a King without State, without Honour, without Order, where beardleſſe boyes would brave him to his face, and to aſſure us, that he called not this aſſembly for any Innovation, acknowledging the government Eccleſiaſtical, as now it is, to have been approved by manifold bleſſings from God himſelf, both for the increaſe of the Goſpel, and with a moſt happy and glorious peace; yet becauſe nothing could be ſo abſolutely ordered, but ſomething might be added afterward thereunto, and in*

any State, as in the body of man, corruptions might inſenſibly grow, either through time or perſons: and in that he had received many complaints, ſince his firſt enterance into the Kingdome, eſpecially through the diſſentions in the Church, of many diſorders, as he heard, and much diſobedience to the Lawes, with a great falling away to Popery; his purpoſe therefore was, like a good Phyſician, to examine and try the complaints, and fully to remove the occaſions thereof, if they prove ſcandalous, or to cure them, if they were dangerous, or, if but frivolous, yet to take knowledge of them, thereby to caſt a ſop into Cerberus *his mouth, that he may never bark again, his meaning being, as he pleaſed to profeſſe, to give factious ſpirits, no occaſion hereby, of boaſting or glory, for which cauſe he had called the Biſhops in, ſeverally be themſelves, not to be confronted by the contrary opponents, that if any thing ſhould be found meet to be redreſſed, it might be done, (which his Majeſty twice, or thrice as occaſion ſerved, reiterated) without any viſible alteration.*

And this was the ſum, ſo far as my dull head could conceive and carry it, of his Majeſties generall ſpeech. In particular he ſignified unto them the principal matters, why he called them alone, with whom he would conſult about ſome ſpecial points,

points, wherein himſelf deſired to be ſatisfied; theſe he reduced to three heads: Firſt, concerning the Book of Common-Prayer, and Divine Service uſed in this Church. Second, Excommunication in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts. Third, the providing of fit and able Miniſters for Ireland.

In the Book he required ſatisfaction about three things. Firſt, about Confirmation; firſt for the name, if arguing a Confirming of Baptiſm, as if this Sacrament without it were of no validity, then were it blaſphemous: Secondly, for the uſe, firſt brought upon this occaſion; Infants being Baptized, and anſwering by their Patrini, *it was neceſſary they ſhould be examined, when they came to yeares of diſcretion, and after their profeſſion made by themſelves, to be confirmed with a Bleſſing, or prayer of the Biſhop, laying his hands upon their heads, abhorring the abuſe in Popery, where it was made a Sacrament and corroboration to Baptiſm.*

The ſecond was for Abſolution, which how we uſed it in our Church, he knew not, he had heard it likned to the Popes pardons, but his Majeſties opinion was, that, there being only two kinds thereof from God, the one general, the other particular: for the firſt, all Prayers, and Preachings do import an Abſolution: for the ſe-

cond, it is to be applied to ſpecial parties, who having commited a ſcandal, and repenting, are abſolved: otherwiſe, where there precedes not either excommunication, or penance, there needs no abſolution.

The third was private Baptiſm, if private for place, his Majeſty *thought it agreed with the uſe of the Primitive Church; if for perſons, that any but a lawfull Miniſter might Baptize any where, he utterly diſliked; and in this point his Highneſſe grew ſomewhat earneſt againſt the Baptizing by Women and Laikes.*

The ſecond head was Excommunication, wherein he offered two things to be conſidered of, firſt, the matter: ſecond, the perſon. In the matter, firſt, whether it were executed (as it is complained) in light cauſes; ſecond, whether it were not uſed too often. In the Perſons, firſt, why Laymen, as Chancellors and Commiſſaries ſhould do it? ſecond, why the Biſhops themſelves, for the more dignity to ſo high and weighty a cenſure, ſhould not take unto them, for their aſſiſtants, the Dean and Chapter, or other Miniſters, and Chaplains of gravity and account: and ſo likewiſe in other cenſures, and giving of Orders, &c.

The laſt for *Ireland,* his Majeſty referred, as you

you ſhall in the laſt dayes Conference hear, to a conſultation. His Highneſſe (to whom I offer great wrong, in being as *Phocion* to *Demoſthenes*, κόπιστῶν λογῶν the Hatchet to cut ſhort ſo amiable a ſpeech) having ended, the Lord Arch-Biſhop, after that, on his knee, he had ſignified how much this whole Land was bound to God, for ſetting over us a *King*, ſo wiſe, learned, and judicious, addreſſed himſelf to enform his Majeſty of all theſe points in their ſeveral order.

And firſt, as touching Confirmation, he ſhewed at large the antiquity of it, as being uſed in the Catholique Church ever ſince the Apoſtles time, till that of late ſome particular Churches had unadviſedly rejected it. Then he declared the Lawful uſe of it, agreeable to his Majeſties former ſpeech, affirming it to be a meer calumniation, and a very untrue ſuggeſtion, if any had informed his Highneſſe, that the Church of *England* did hold or teach, that without Confirmation, Baptiſm was unperfect, or that it did adde any thing to the vertue, and ſtrength thereof. And this he made manifeſt by the Rubricks in the Communion Book ſet before Confirmation, which were there read.

My Lord of *London* ſucceeded, ſaying, that

the authority of Confirmation, did not depend onely upon the Antiquity and practice of the Primitive Church, which out of *Cyprian.* Ep. 73. and *Hieron. adverſus Luciferian.* he ſhewed, but that it was an inſtitution Apoſtolical, and one of the particular points of the Apoſtles Catechiſm, ſet down and named in expreſſe words *Heb.* 6. 2. and ſo did Maſter *Calvin* expound that very place, who wiſhed earneſtly the reſtitution thereof in thoſe reformed Churches, where it had been aboliſhed. Upon which place the Biſhop of *Carleil* alſo inſiſted, and urged it both gravely and learnedly. *His* Majeſty *called for the Bible, read the place of the* Hebrews, *and approved the expoſition.*

Something alſo the Biſhop of *Durham* noted, out of the Goſpel of Saint *Matthew,* for the impoſition of hands upon Children. The concluſion was, for the fuller explanation, that we make it not a Sacrament, or a corroboration to a former Sacrament, *That it ſhould be conſidered of by their Lordſhips, whether it might not, without alteration (whereof his Majeſty was ſtill very wary) be intituled an Examination with a Confirmation.*

Next in order, was the point of Abſolution, which the Lord Arch-Biſhop cleared from all

all abuſe, or ſuperſtition, as it is uſed in our Church of *England:* reading unto his Majeſty, both the Confeſſion in the beginning of the Communion Book, and the Abſolution following it, wherein, (ſaith he) the Miniſter doth nothing elſe but pronounce an abſolution in general. *His Highneſſe peruſed them both in the Book it ſelf, liking and approving them, finding it to be very true, which my Lord Arch-Biſhop ſaid:* But the Biſhop of *London* ſtepping forward, added, it becometh us to deal plainly with your *Majeſty:* there is alſo in the Communion Book, another more particular and perſonal form of abſolution, preſcribed to be uſed in the order for the Viſitation of the ſick: this the King required to ſee, and whilſt Maſter Dean of the Chapel was turning to it, the ſaid Biſhop alleged, that not only the Confeſſions of *Auguſta, Boheme, Saxon,* which he there cited, do retain and allow it, but that Maſter *Calvin* did alſo approve ſuch a general kind of Confeſſion, and Abſolution, as the Church of *England* uſeth, and withall, did very well like of thoſe which are private, for ſo he terms them. *The ſaid particular Abſolution in the Common Prayer Book being read, his Majeſty exceedingly well approved it, adding, that it was Apoſtolical, and a very good Ordinance, in that it was given in the name*

name of Chriſt, to one that deſired it, and upon the clearing of his conſcience.

The Concluſion was, that it ſhould be conſulted of by the Biſhops, whether unto the Rubrike of the general Abſolution, theſe words, Remiſſion of ſins, might not be added for explanation ſake.

In the third place, the Lord Arch Biſhop proceeded to ſpeak of Private Baptiſm, ſhewing his *Majeſty*, that the adminiſtration of Baptiſm by Women and Lay-perſons was not allowed in the practice of the Church, but enquired of, by Biſhops in their Viſitation, and cenſured; neither do the words in the Book inferre any ſuch meaning: *Whereunto the King excepted, urging and preſſing the words of the Book, that they could not but intend a permiſſion, and ſuffering of Women, and private perſons to Baptize.* Here the Biſhop of *Worceſter* ſaid, that indeed the words were doubtful, and might be preſſed to that meaning, but yet it ſeemed by the contrary practice of our Church, (cenſuring Women in this caſe) that the compilers of the Book did not ſo intend them, and yet propounded them ambiguouſly, becauſe otherwiſe, perhaps, the Book would not have then paſſed in the Parliament, (and for this conjecture, as I remember,

he

he cited the teſtimony of my Lord Arch Biſhop of *York*:) whereunto the Biſhop of *London* replied, that thoſe learned and reverend men, who framed the Book of Common Prayer, intended not by ambiguous termes to deceive any, but did, indeed, by thoſe words intend a permiſſio of private perſons, to Baptize in caſe of neceſſity, whereof their Letters were witneſſes, ſome parts whereof he then read, and withall declared the ſame was agreeable to the practice of the antient Church; urging to that purpoſe, both *Act.* 2. Where 3000. were Baptized in one day, which for the Apoſtles alone to do, was impoſſible, at leaſt improbable; and beſides the Apoſtles, there were then no Biſhops or Prieſts: And alſo the authority of *Tertullian*, and Saint *Ambroſe* in the fourth to the *Epheſians*, plain in that point, laying alſo open the abſurdities and impieties of their opinion who think there is no neceſſity of Baptiſm, which word Neceſſity, he ſo preſſed not, as if God without Baptiſm could not ſave the child; but the caſe put, that the ſtate of the Infant, dying unbaptized, being uncertain, and to God only known; but if it die Baptized, there is an evident aſſurance, that it is ſaved. Who is he that having any Religion in him would not ſpeedily, by any means, procure his child to be Baptized, and rather ground his action upon Chriſts

Chriſts promiſe, than his omiſſion thereof, upon Gods ſecret judgment?

His Majeſty *replied, firſt to that place of the* Acts, *that it was an Act extraordinary, neither is it ſound reaſoning from things done before a Church be ſetled and grounded, unto thoſe which are to be performed in a Church ſtabliſhed and flouriſhing: That he alſo maintained the neceſſity of Baptiſm, and alwaies thought, that the place of S.* John, Niſi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua, &c. *Was meant of the Sacrament of Baptiſm, and that he had ſo defended it againſt ſome Miniſters in* Scotland, *and it may ſeem ſtrange to you my Lords, ſaith his* Majeſty, *that I, who now think you in* England *give too much to Baptiſm, did* 14 *Moneths ago in* Scotland *argue with my Divines there for aſcribing too little to that holy Sacrament. Inſomuch that a pert Miniſter aſked me, if I thought Baptiſm ſo neceſſary, that if it were omitted, the child ſhould be damned? I anſwered him, No, but if you, being called to Baptize the Child, though privately, ſhould refuſe to come, I think, you ſhall be damned. But this neceſſity of Baptiſm, his Majeſty ſo expounded, that it was neceſſary to be had, where it might be lawfully had,* id eſt, *miniſtred by lawful Miniſters, by whom alone, and by no private perſon, he thought it might not, in any caſe be adminiſtred;*

niſtred; and yet utterly diſliked all rebaptizatoin, although either Women or Laikes had Baptized.

Here the Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſpake very learnedly, and earneſtly, in that point, affirming, that the denying of private perſons, in caſes of neceſſity, to Baptize, were to croſs all Antiquity, ſeeing, that it had been the ancient and common practice of the Church, when Miniſters at ſuch times could not be got, and that it was alſo a rule agreed upon among Divines, that the Miniſter is not of the Eſſence of the Sacrament. *His Majeſty anſwered, though he be not of the Eſſence of the Sacrament, yet is he of the Eſſence of the right and lawful Miniſtry of the Sacrament, taking for his ground the commiſſion of Chriſt to his Diſciples, Mat.* 28. 20. Go Preach and Baptize.

The iſſue was a conſultation, whether into the Rubrick of Private Baptiſm, which leaves it indifferently to all Laikes or Clergy, the words, Curate or lawful Miniſter, might not be inſerted, which was not ſo much ſtuck at by the Biſhops. *And ſo his Majeſty proceeded to the next point, about Excommunication, in cauſes of leſſer moment: Firſt, whether the name might not be altered, and yet the ſame Cenſure be retained:*

tained: Or ſecondly, whether in place of it, another Coercion equivalent thereunto might not be invented and thought of. A thing very eaſily yielded unto of all ſides, becauſe it had been long and often deſired, but could not be obtained from her Majeſty, who reſolved to be ſtill *ſemper eadem*, and to alter nothing which ſhe had once ſetled.

And thus the Wedneſday ſucceeding, being appointed for the exhibiting of their determinations in theſe points, and the *Monday* next immediately following this preſent day, for the Opponents to bring in their Complaints, we were diſmiſſed after three hours, and more ſpent; which were ſoon gone; ſo admirably, both for underſtanding, ſpeech, and Judgement, did his *Majeſty* handle all thoſe points, ſending us away, not with contentment only, but aſtoniſhment, and, which is pitiful, you will ſay, with ſhame to us all, that a *King* brought up, among Puritans, not the learneſt men in the World, and ſchooled by them; ſwaying a Kingdom full of buſineſſe, and troubles, naturally given to much exerciſe, and repaſt, ſhould in points of Divinity ſhew himſelf as expedite and perfect, as the greateſt Scholars, *And moſt induſtrious Students, there preſent, might not out ſtrip him. But this one thing I might not omit, that*

his Majeſty ſhould profeſſe, howſoever he lived among Puritans, and was kept, for the moſt part, as a Ward under them, yet ſince he was of the age of his Sonne, ten years old, he ever diſliked their opinions, as the Saviour of the World ſaid, *Though he lived among them, he was not of them.*

Finis primæ diei.

THE

THE

SECOND DAYES

CONFERENCE.

ON Monday, *January* ſixteen, between 11. and 12. of the clock, were the 4. Plantiffes called into the privy Chamber, (the two Biſhops of *London*, and *Wincheſter* being there before) and after them all the Deanes, and Doctors preſent, which had been ſummoned, *Patr. Galloway* ſometime Miniſter of *Perth* in *Scotland*, admitted alſo to be there, the Kings *Majeſty*, entring the Chamber, preſently took his Chair, placed as the day before (the noble young Prince, ſitting by upon a ſtool) where making a ſhort, but a pithy and ſweet ſpeech, to the ſame purpoſe, which the firſt day he made, *viz. Of the end of the Conference, meet to be had he ſaid by every King, at his firſt entrance to the Crown; not to innovate the Government preſently eſtabliſhed, which by long experience*

perience he had found accompliſhed with ſo ſingular bleſſings of God, 45. yeares, as that no Church upon the face of the Earth more flouriſhed, than this of England. *But firſt to ſettle uniform order through the whole Church. Secondly, to plant unity for the ſuppreſſing of Papiſts and enemies to Religion. Thirdly, to amend abuſes, as natural to bodies politick, and corrupt man, as the ſhadow to the body, which once being entred, hold on as wheels, his motion once ſet going. And becauſe many grievous complaints had been made to him, ſince his firſt entrance into the Land, he thought it beſt to ſend for ſome, whom his Majeſty underſtood to be the moſt grave, learned and modeſt of the agrieved ſort, whom being there preſent, he was now ready to hear at large, what they could object or ſay;* And ſo willed them to begin: Whereupon they four kneeling down, Dr. *Reinolds* the foreman, after a ſhort Preamble gratulatory, and ſignifying his *Majeſties* Summons, by vertue whereof, they then and there appeared, reduced all matters diſliked, or queſtioned, into theſe four heads.

1. That the Doctrine of the Church might be preſerved in purity according to Gods Word.

2. That good Paſtors might be planted in all Churches to preach the ſame.

3. That the Church government might be ſincerely miniſtred, according to Gods Word.

4. That the Book of Common Prayer might be fitted to more increaſe of Piety.

1. For the firſt, he moved his Majeſty, that the Book of *Articles* of Religion, concluded, 1562. might be explained in places obſcure, and enlarged where ſome things were defective. For example, whereas *Act.* 16. The words are theſe: *After we have received the holy Ghoſt, we may depart from Grace:* Notwithſtanding, the meaning be found, yet he deſired that, becauſe they may ſeem to be contrary to the Doctrine of Gods Predeſtination and election in the 17. *Article*, both thoſe words might be explained with this, or the like addition, Yet neither totally, nor finally; and alſo that the nine aſſertions Orthodoxal as he termed them, concluded upon at *Lambeth*, might be inſerted into that Book of *Articles*.

2. Secondly, where it is ſaid in the 23. *Article*, that it is not lawful, for any man, to take upon him the office of Preaching or adminiſtring the

the Sacraments, in the congregation, before he be lawfully called, D. *Rein.* took exception to theſe words, In the Congregation, as implying a lawfulneſſe for any man whatſoever, out of the Congregation, to preach and adminiſter the Sacraments; though he had no lawful calling thereunto.

3. Thirdly, in the 25. *Article*, theſe words touching Confirmation, grown partly of the corrupt following the Apoſtles, being oppoſite to thoſe in the Collect of Confirmation in the Communion Book, upon whom after the example of the Apoſtles, argue, ſaith he, a contrariety each to other; the firſt, confeſſing Confirmation, to be a depraved imitation of the Apoſtles; the ſecond, grounding it upon their example, *Act.* 8. and 9. as if the Biſhop in Confirming of children, did by his impoſing of hands, as the Apoſtles in thoſe places, give the viſible graces of the holy Ghoſt, and therefore he deſired that both the contradiction might be conſidered, and this ground of Confirmation examined.

Thus farre Doctor *Rein.* went on without any interruption: But, here, as he was proceeding, the Biſhop of *London*, much moved to hear theſe men, who ſome of them the Evening before,

and the ſame morning, had made ſemblance, of joining with the Biſhops, and that they ſought for nothing but unity, now ſtrike to overthrow, (if they could) all at once, cut him off, and kneeling down, moſt humbly deſired his Majeſty, firſt, That the ancient Canon might be remembred, which ſaith, that *Schiſmatici contra Epiſcopos, non ſunt audiendi.* Secondly, that if any of theſe parties were in the number of the thouſand Miniſters, who had once ſubſcribed to the Communion Book, and yet had lately exhibited a Petition to his Majeſty, againſt it, they might be removed and not heard, according to the Decree of a very ancient Councel, providing, that no man ſhould be admitted to ſpeak againſt that, whereto he had formerly ſubſcribed.

Thirdly, he put D. *Reinolds* and his Aſſociates in minde, how much they were bound to his Majeſties exceeding great clemency, in that they were permitted, contrary to the Statute, 1 *Eliz.* to ſpeak ſo freely againſt the Leiturgy and Diſcipline eſtabliſhed. Laſtly, foraſmuch as that he perceived they took a courſe tending to the utter overthrow of the orders of the Church, thus long continued, he deſired to know the end which they aimed at, alleging a place out of Maſter *Cartwright*, affirming that

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we ought rather to conform ourſelves in orders and Ceremonies to the faſhion of the *Turks*, than to the Papiſts; which Poſition he doubted they approved, becauſe, contrary to the orders of the Univerſities, they appeared before his Majeſty in *Turky* gownes, not in their Scholaſtical habits, ſorting to their degrees.

His Majeſty perceiving my Lord of London *to ſpeak in ſome paſſion, ſaid, that there was in it ſomething which he might excuſe, ſomthing that he did miſlike: excuſe his paſſion he might, thinking he had juſt cauſe to be ſo moved, both in reſpect, that they did thus traduce the preſent well ſetled Church Government; and alſo, did proceed in ſo indirect a courſe, contrary to their own pretence, and the intent of that meeting alſo: yet he miſliked his ſudden interruption of D.* Rein. *whom he ſhould have ſuffered to have taken his courſe and liberty, concluding, that there is no order, nor can be any effectual iſſue of diſputation, if each party might not be ſuffered, without chopping, to ſpeak at large what he would. And therefore willed that either the Doctors ſhould proceed, or that the Biſhop would frame his anſwer to theſe motions already made: although, ſaith his Majeſty, ſome of them are very needleſſe:* It was thought fitter to anſwer, leſt

the number of objections increasing, the answers would prove confused.

Upon the first motion, concerning falling from Grace; The Bishop of *London* took occasion to signifie to his Majesty, how very many in these daies, neglecting holinesse of life, presumed too much of persisting of Grace, laying all their Religion upon Predestination, If I shall be saved, I shall be saved; which he termed a desperate Doctrine, shewing it to be contrary to good Divinity, and the true doctrine of predestination, wherein we should reason rather *ascendendo*, than *descendendo*, thus; I live in obedience to God, in love with my neighbour, I follow my vocation, *&c.* Therefore I trust that God hath elected me, and predestinated me to Salvation: Not thus, which is the usual course of argument, God hath predestinated and chosen me to life, therefore though I sin never so grievously, yet I shall not be damned: for whom he once loveth, he loveth to the end. Whereupon he shewed his Majesty out of the next *Article*, what was the doctrine of the Church of *England*, touching Predestination, in the very last Paragraph, *Scil.* We must receive Gods promises, in such wise, as they be generally set forth to us in holy Scripture and in our doings, that the will of God is to be followed, which

we have expreſly declared unto us in the word of God: *which part of the* Article *his Majeſty very well approved, and after he had, after his manner, very ſingularly diſcourſed on that place of* Paul, *Work out your Salvation with fear and trembling; he left it to be conſidered, whether any thing were mete to be added, for the clearing of the Doctor his doubt by putting in the word often, or the like, as thus, We may often depart from Grace; but in the mean time, wiſhed that the Doctrine of Predeſtination might be very tenderly handled, and with great diſcretion, leſt on the one ſide, Gods omnipotency might be called in queſtion, by impeaching the doctrine of his eternal predeſtination, or on the other, a deſperate preſumption might be arreared, by inferring the neceſſary certainty of ſtanding, and perſiſting in grace.*

To the ſecond it was anſwered, that it was a vain objection, becauſe, by the Doctrine and practice of the Church of *England*, none, but a licenced Miniſter, might preach, nor either publikely or privately adminiſtered the Euchariſt, or the Lords Supper. *And as for private Baptiſm, his Majeſty anſwered, that he had taken order for that with the Biſhops already.*

In the third point (which was about Confir-

 mation)

mation) was obſerved either curioſity, or malice, becauſe the *Article* which was there preſently read, in thoſe words; Theſe five commonly called Sacraments, that is to ſay, Confirmation, Penance, Orders, *&c.* are not to be accounted for Sacraments of the Goſpel, being ſuch as have grown partly of the corrupt following the Apoſtles, *&c.* Inſinuateth, that the making of Confirmation to be a Sacrament, is a corrupt imitation; but the Communion Book, aiming at the right uſe, and proper courſe thereof, make it to be according to the Apoſtles example; which his Majeſty obſerving, and reading both the places, concluded the objection to be a meer cavil. And this was for the pretended contradiction.

Now for the ground thereof, the Biſhop of *London* added, that it was not ſo much founded upon the places in the *Acts* of the Apoſtles, which ſome of the Fathers had often ſhewed; but upon *Heb.* 6. 2. Where it is made, as the firſt day he had ſaid, a part of the Apoſtles Catechiſm; which was the opinion, beſides the judgment of the holy Fathers, of Maſter *Calvin*, and D. *Fulke*, the one upon *Heb.* 6. 2. as upon *Saturday* he had declared; the other upon *Acts.* 8. verſ. 27. where with S. *Auguſtine*, he ſaith that we do not, in any wiſe miſlike that antient

tient Ceremonie (of impoſition of hands, for ſtrengthning and confirming ſuch as had been Baptized,) but uſe it in ourſelves, being nothing elſe, but as Saint *Auſten* affirmeth, Prayer over a man to be ſtrengthened and confirmed by the holy Ghoſt: or to receive increaſe of the gifts of the holy Ghoſt, as Saint *Ambroſe* ſaith; and a little after alludeth unto *Heb.* 6. 2, *&c.* Neither need there any great proof of this (ſaith my Lord) For confirmation to be unlawful, it was not their opinion, who objected this, as he ſuppoſed; this was it that vexed them, that they had not the uſe thereof in their own hands, every Paſtor in his Pariſh to confirm, for then it would be accounted an Apoſtolical inſtitution; and willed Doctor *Rein.* to ſpeak herein what he thought: who ſeemed to yeild thereunto, replying that ſome Dioceſſe of a Biſhop, having therein ſix hundred Pariſh Churches (which number cauſed the Biſhop of *London* to think himſelf perſonally touched, becauſe in his Dioceſſe there are 609, or there abouts) it was a thing very inconvenient to commit confirmation unto the Biſhop alone, ſuppoſing it impoſſible that he could take due examination of them all, which came to be confirmed. To the fact, my Lord of *London* anſwered, for his Majeſties information, that the Biſhops in their Viſitations, give out notice to them, who are deſirous either to

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be themſelves or to have their children confirmed, of the place where they will be; and appoint either their Chaplaines, or ſome other Miniſters, to examine them which are to be confirmed, and lightly confirm none, but either by the teſtimony, or report of the Parſons or Curates where the children are bred, and brought up. To the opinion he replied, that none of all the Fathers ever admited any to confirm but Biſhops alone; yea even Saint *Jerome* himſelf, though otherwiſe no friend to Biſhops, by reaſon of a quarrel betwen the Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* and him, yet confeſſeth, that the execution thereof was reſtrained to Biſhops only, *Ad honorem potius Sacerdotii, quàm ad legis neceſſitatem.* Whereof, namely of this Prerogative of Biſhops, he giveth this Reaſon, *Eccleſiæ ſalus in ſummi Sacerdotis dignitate pendit; cui ſi non exors quædam & ab omnibus eminens detur poteſtas, tot in Eccleſiis efficerentur ſciſmata, quot Sacerdotes.* My Lord Biſhop of *Wincheſter* chalenged Doctor *Reynolds*, willing him, of his learning, to ſhew where ever he had read, that Confirmation was at all uſed in ancient times by any other but Biſhops; and added withall, that it was uſed, partly to examine Children, and after examination, by impoſition of hands (which was a Ceremonie of bleſſing among the *Jews*) to bleſſe them and pray over them: and partly

partly to try whether they had been Baptized in the right form or no. For in former ages Baptiſm was adminiſtred in divers ſorts: ſome gave it, *In nomine patris & filii, &c.* Others, *In nomine patris majoris, & filii minoris,* as the *Arrians* did; ſome, *In nomine patris per filium, in ſpiritu ſancto;* Others not in the name of the Trinity, but in the death of Chriſt, *&c.* Whereupon the Catholick Biſhops were conſtrained to examin them who were Baptized *in remotis,* far from them, how they were taught to believe, concerning Baptiſm; If it were right, to confirm them; if amiſſe, to inſtruct them.

His Majeſty concluded this point, firſt by taxing Saint *Jerome* for his aſſertion, that a Biſhop was not *Divinæ ordinationis* (the Biſhop of *London* thereupon, inferting, that unleſſe he could prove his ordination lawful out of the Scriptures, he would not be a Biſhop 4 hours) *Which opinion his Majeſty much diſtaſted, approving their calling and uſe in the Church, and cloſed it up with this ſhort Aphoriſm, No Biſhop, no King. Secondly, for Confirmation, his Highneſſe thought, that it ſorted neither with the authority, nor decency of the ſame, that every ordinary Paſtor ſhould do it: and therefore ſaid, that for his part, he meant not to take that from the Biſhops, which they had ſo long retained and injoyed;*

injoyed; ſeeing as it pleaſed him to adde, as great reaſon, that none ſhould confirm without the Biſhops licence, as none ſhould preach without his licence, & ſo referring, as the day before, the word Examination, to be added to the Rubrick in the title of Confirmation in the Communion Book, if it were thought good ſo to do; he willed Doctor Rein. *to proceed.*

Who after that he had deprecated the imputation of Schiſm, with a proteſtation, that he meant not to gall any man; goeth on to the 37. *Article*, wherein he ſaid theſe words, The Biſhop of *Rome* hath no authority in this Land, not to be ſufficient, unleſſe it were added, nor ought to have. Whereat his Majeſty heartily laughed, and ſo did the Lords: the *King* adding an anſwer, which the Rhetoricians call, ἐγώτημα ἐλέγχικον; What ſpeak you of the Popes Authority here? *Habemus jure quod habemus; And therefore, in as much as it is ſaid, he hath not, is is plain enough, that he ought not to have.*

This, and ſome other motions, ſeeming to the King and Lords very frivolous, occaſion was taken, in ſome by-talk, to remember a certain deſcription, which Maſter *Butler* of *Cambridge* made of a Puritan, *viz.* A Puritan is a Proteſtant

tant frayed out of his wits. But my Lord of *London*, there ſeriouſly put his Majeſty in mind of the ſpeeches, which the *French* Embaſſadour Maſter *Rogne* gave out concerning our Church of *England*, both at *Canterbury* after his arrival, and after at the Court, upon the view of our ſolemn Service and Ceremonies; namely, that if the reformed Churches in *France* had kept the ſame Orders among them which we have, he was aſſured that there would have been many thouſands of Proteſtants more there, than now there are; and yet our men ſtumble and ſtrain at theſe petty quillets, thereby to diſturb and diſgrace the whole Church.

5. After this, the Doctor moved that this propoſition, The intention of the Miniſter is not of the Eſſence of the Sacrament, might be added unto the Book of *Articles*, the rather, becauſe that ſome in *England* had preached it to be eſſential. *And here again he remembred the nine Orthodoxal aſſertions concluded at* Lambeth. *His Majeſty utterly diſliked that firſt part of the motion for two reaſons: Firſt, thinking it unfit to thruſt into the Book every poſition negative, which would both make the Book ſwell into a Volume as big as the Bible, and alſo confound the Reader: bringing for example the courſe of one Maſter* Craig *in the like caſe in* Scotland,

Scotland, *who with his, I renounce and abhor, his deteſtations and abrenuncations, did ſo amaze the ſimple people, that they, not able to conceive all thoſe things, utterly gave over all, falliug back to Popery, or remaining ſtill in their former ignorance. Yea, if I, ſaid his Majeſty, ſhould have been bound to his form, the confeſſion of my faith muſt have been in my Table-Book, not in my head. But becauſe you ſpeak of Intention, ſaith his* Highneſſe, *I will apply it thus. If you come hither with a good intention, to be informed, and ſatisfied where you ſhall find juſt cauſe, the whole work will ſort to the better effect; But if your intention be to go as you came (whatſoever ſhall be ſaid) it will prove that the Intention is very material, and eſſential to the end of this preſent action.* To the other part for the nine Aſſertions, his Majeſty could not ſuddenly anſwer, becauſe he underſtood not what the Doctor meant by thoſe Aſſertions or propoſitions at *Lambeth;* but when it was informed his Majeſty, that by reaſon of ſome controverſies, ariſing in *Cambridge*, about certain points of Divinity, my Lords Grace aſſembled ſome Divines of eſpecial note, to ſet down their opinions, which they drew into nine Aſſertions, and ſo ſent them to the Univerſity, for the appeaſing of thoſe quarrels; then his Majeſty anſwered; Firſt, that when ſuch queſtions ariſe among Scholars,

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the quieteſt proceeding were, to determine them in the Univerſities, and not to ſtuff the Book with all concluſions Theological. Secondly, the better courſe would be to puniſh the broachers of falſe Doctrine, as occaſion ſhould be offered: for were the *Articles* never ſo many and found, who can prevent the contrary opinions of men till they be heard?

Upon this the Dean of *Paules* kneeling down, humbly deſired leave to ſpeak, ſignifying unto his Majeſty, that this matter ſomewhat more nearly concerned him, by reaſon of a controverſie between him and ſome other in *Cambridge*, upon a propoſition, which he had deliverd there; Namely, that whoſoever (although before juſtified) did commit any grievous ſin, as Adultery, Murder, Treaſon, or the like, did become, *ipſo facto*, ſubject to Gods wrath, and guilty of damnation, or were in ſtate of damnation *(quoad præſentem ſtatum)* untill they repented; adding hereunto, that thoſe which were called or juſtified according to the purpoſe of Gods Election, howſoever they might, & did ſomtimes fall into grievous ſins, and thereby into the preſent ſtate of wrath and damnation; yet did never fall, either totally from all the Graces of God to be utterly deſtitute of all the parts and ſeed thereof, nor finally from juſtification, but

but were in time renewed by Gods Spirit unto a lively Faith, and Repentance; and ſo juſtified from thoſe ſins, and the wrath, curſe and guilt annexed thereunto, whereinto they are fallen, and wherein they lay, ſo long as they were without true repentance for the ſame. Againſt which Doctrine, he ſaid, that ſome had oppoſed, teaching, that all ſuch perſons as were once truely juſtified, though after they fell into never ſo grievous ſins, yet remained ſtill juſt, or in the ſtate of juſtification, before they actually repented of thoſe ſins; yea, and though they never repented of them, through forgetfulneſſe or ſudden death, yet they ſhould be juſtified and ſaved wihout repentance. *In utter diſlike of this Doctrine, his Majeſty entred into a longer ſpeech of Predeſtination, and reprobation, than before, and of the neceſſary conjoyning repentance and holineſſe of life with true faith: concluding, that it was hypocriſie, and not true juſtifying faith, which was ſevered from them: for although Predeſtination and Election depend not upon any qualities, actions, or works of man, which be mutable, but upon God his eternal and immutable decree and purpoſe; yet ſuch is the neceſſity of repentance, after known ſins committed, as that, without it, there could not be, either reconciliation with God, or remiſſion of thoſe ſins.*

Next to this, Doctor *Reinolds* complained, that the Catechiſm in the Common Prayer Book, was too brief, for which one by Maſter *Nowel* late Dean of *Pauls* was added, and that too long for young Novices to learn by heart: requeſted therefore, that one uniform Catechiſm might be made, which, and none other, might be generally received; it was demanded of him, whether if, to the ſhort Catechiſm in the Communion Book, ſomething were added for the Doctrine of the Sacrament, it would not ſerve? His Majeſty thought the Doctors requeſt very reaſonable: *But yet ſo, that he would have a Catechiſm in the feweſt and plaineſt affirmative terms that may be: taxing withal the number of ignorant Catechiſms ſet out in* Scotland, *by every one that was the Son of a good man: inſomuch, as that which was Catechiſm Doctrine in one Congregation, was in another ſcarcely accepted as ſound and Orthodox, wiſhed therefore, one to be made and agreed upon, adding this excellent, gnomical and Canon-like Concluſion, that in reforming of a Church, he would have two rules obſerved. Firſt, that old, curious, deep and intricate queſtions might be avoided, in the Fundamental inſtruction of a people. Secondly, that there ſhould not be any ſuch departure from the Papiſts in all things, as that becauſe we in ſome*

points agree with them, therefore we ſhould be accounted to be in error.

To the former, Doctor *Reinolds* did adde the prophanation of the Sabbath day, and contempt of his Majeſties Proclamation, made for the reforming of that abuſe, of which he earneſtly deſired a ſtraighter courſe for reformation thereof, and unto this he found a general and unanimous aſſent.

7. After that, he moved his Majeſty, that there might be a new Tranſlation of the Bible, becauſe, thoſe which were allowed in the Reign of King *Henry* the Eight, and *Edward* the ſixt, were corrupt, and not anſwerable to the truth of the Original. For example, firſt, *Galatians* 4. 25. the Greek word συστοιχεῖ is not well tranſlated, as now it is; Bordereth, neither expreſſing the force of the word, nor the Apoſtles ſence, nor the ſituation of the place.

Secondly, *Pſalm* 105. 28. They were not obedient; The original being, They were not diſobedient.

Thirdly, *Pſalm* 106. verſe 30. Then ſtood up *Phinees* and prayed, the Hebrew hath, Executed judgment. To which motion, there was, at the preſent, no gainſaying, the objections

tions being trivial, and old, and already in print, often anſwered; only my Lord of *London* well added, that if every mans humour ſhould be followed, there would be no end of tranſlating. *Whereupon his Highneſſe wiſhed, that ſome ſpecial paines ſhould be taken in that behalf for one uniform tranſlation (profeſſing that he could never, yet, ſee a Bible well tranſlated in* Engliſh, *but the worſt of all his Majeſty thought the* Geneva *to be) and this to be done by the beſt learned in both the Univerſities, after them to be reviewed by the Biſhops, and the chief learned of the Church; from them to be preſented to the Privy Councel; and laſtly, to be ratified by his Royal Authority. And ſo this whole Church to be bound unto it, and none other. Mary, withall, he gave this caveat (upon a word caſt out by my Lord of* London) *that no Marginal Notes ſhould be added, having found in them which are annexed to the* Geneva *tranſlation (which he ſaw in a Bible given him by an* Engliſh *Lady) ſome Notes very partial, untrue, ſeditious, and ſavouring too much of dangerous, and traiterous conceits. As for example, the firſt Chapter of* Exodus *and the nineteenth Verſe, where the Marginal Note alloweth Diſobedience unto Kings. And 2.* Chro. 15, 16. *the note taxeth* Aſa *for depoſing his Mother, only, and not killing her: And ſo concludeth this point as all the reſt, with a grave and judicious advice. Firſt, that errors*

in matters of Faith might be rectified and amended. Secondly, that matters indifferent might rather be interpreted, and a gloſſe added; alleging from Bartolus de regno, *that, as better a King with ſome weakneſſe, than ſtill a change; ſo rather a Church with ſome faults, than an Innovation. And ſurely, ſaith his Majeſty, if theſe be the greateſt matters you be grieved with, I need not have been troubled with ſuch importunities & complaints, as have been made unto me; ſome other more private courſe might have been taken for your ſatisfaction, and withall, looking upon the Lords, he ſhook his head, ſmiling.*

8. The laſt point (noted by Doctor *Reinolds*) in this firſt head, for Doctrine, was, that unlawful and ſeditious Books might be ſuppreſſed, at leaſt reſtrained, and imparted to a few: for by the liberty of publiſhing ſuch Books, ſo commonly, many young Scholars and unſetled minds in both Univerſities, and through the whole Realm, were corrupted and perverted; naming for one inſtance, that Book entitled, *De jure Magiſtratus in Subditos*, publiſhed of late by *Ficlerus* a Papiſt, and applied againſt the Queens Majeſty that laſt was, for the Pope: The Biſhop of *London* ſuppoſing, as it ſeemed, himſelf to be principally aimed at, anſwered, firſt, to the general, that there was no ſuch licentious divulging of thoſe Books, as he imagin-

ed,

ed, or complained of, and that none, except it were ſuch as Doctor *Rein.* who were ſuppoſed, would confute them, had liberty by authority to buy them: Again, ſuch Books came into the Realm, by many ſecret conveiances, ſo that there could not be a perfect notice had of their importation: Secondly, to the particular inſtance of *Ficlerus*, he ſaid, that the Author *De jure, &c.* was a great Diſciplinarian; whereby it did appear, what advantage that ſort gave unto the Papiſts, who *mutatis perſonis*, could apply their own Arguments againſt Princes of the Religion: but for his own part he ſaid, he deteſted both the Author, and the Applier alike. My Lord *Cicill* here taxing alſo the unlimited liberty of the diſperſing and divulging theſe Popiſh and ſeditious Pamphlets, both in *Pauls Church-yard*, and the Univerſities, inſtanced one lately ſet forth, and publiſhed; namely, *Speculum Tragicum*, which both his Majeſty and the Lord *H. Howard*, now Earl of *Northampton*, termed a dangerous Book both for matter and intention: and the Lord Chancellor, alſo dividing all ſuch Books into *Latine* and *Engliſh*, concluded, that theſe laſt, diſperſed, did moſt harm: yet the Lord Secretarie affirmed, that my Lord of *London* had done therein what might be, for the ſuppreſſing of them; and that he knew no man elſe, had done any thing in

that kind but he. *At length, it pleaſed his excellent Majeſty, to tell Doctor* Rein. *that he was a better College-man than a States man; for if his meaning were, to tax the Biſhop of* London, *for ſuffering thoſe books, between the Secular Prieſt, and Jeſuites, lately publiſhed, ſo freely to to paſſe abroad; His Majeſty would have him and his Aſſociates to know, and willed them alſo to acquaint their Adherents and Friends abroad therewith, that the ſaid Biſhop was much injured and ſlandered in that behalf, who did nothing therein, but by warrant from the Lords of the Councel, whereby, both a Schiſm between them was nouriſhed, and alſo his Majeſties own cauſe and Title handled:* The Lord *Cicil* affirming thereunto, that therefore they were tolerated, becauſe, in them, was the Title of *Spain* confuted.

The Lord *Treaſurer* added, that Doctor *Reinolds* might have obſerved another uſe of thoſe Bookes, *viz.* that now by the teſtimony of thoſe Prieſts themſelves, her late Majeſty and the State were cleared of that imputation, of putting Papiſts to death for their conſciences only, and for their Religion, ſeeing, in thoſe Books, they themſelves confeſs, that they were executed for Treaſon. Doctor *Reinolds* excuſed himſelf, expounding his complaint, not meant of

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ſuch Books, as had been printed in *England*, but ſuch as came from beyond the Seas, as Commentaries both in Philoſophy and Divinity. And theſe were the parts of the firſt head, concerning Purity of Doctrine.

Touching Paſtors { *Reſident*, *Learned.*

To the ſecond general point concerning the planting of Miniſters learned in every Pariſh: *It pleaſed his Majeſty to anſwer, that he had conſulted with his Biſhops about that, whom he found willing and ready, to ſecond him in it: inveighing herein, againſt the negligence and careleſneſſe, which he heard of many in this land; but, as* Subita evacuatio, *was* periculoſa, *ſo* ſubita mutatio. *Therefore this matter was not for a preſent reſolution, becauſe to appoint to every Pariſh a ſufficient Miniſter were impoſſible, the Univerſities would not afford them. Again, he had found already, that he had more learned men in this Realm, than he had ſufficient maintenance for; So that maintenance muſt firſt be provided, and then the other to be required; In the mean time, ignorant Miniſters, if young, to be removed, if there were no hope of their amendment; if old, their death muſt be expected, that the next*

courſe may be better ſupplied: And ſo concluded this point, with a moſt Religious and Zealous proteſtation, of doing ſomething dayly in this caſe, becauſe *Jeruſalem* could not be built up in a day. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* made known to the King, that this inſufficiency of the Clergy, be it as it is, comes not by the Biſhops defaults, but partly by Lay Patrons, who preſent very mean men to their cures; whereof, in himſelf, he ſhewed an inſtance, how that ſince his being Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, very few Maſters of Arts were preſented to good Benefices: partly, by the Law of the land, which admitteth of a very mean tolerable ſufficiency in any Clerk, ſo that if the Biſhop ſhould not admit them, then preſently, a *Quare impedit* is ſent out againſt him.

Here my Lord of *London*, kneeling, humbly deſired his Majeſty (becauſe he ſaw, as he ſaid, it was a time of moving Petitions) that he might have leave, to make two or three.

Firſt, that there might be amongſt us, a Praying Miniſtery another while; for whereas, there are, in the Miniſtery, many excellent duties to be performed, as the abſolving of the penitent, praying for, and bleſſing of the people, adminiſtring of the Sacraments, and the like;

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it is come to that paſſe now, that ſome ſort of men thought it the only duty required of a Miniſter, to ſpend the time in ſpeaking out of a Pulpit; ſometimes, God wot, very undiſcreetly, and unlearnedly: and this, with ſo great injury and prejudice, to the celebration of Divine ſervice, that ſome Miniſters would be content to walk in the Church-yard, till Sermon time, rather than to be preſent at publick prayer. He confeſſed, that in a Church new to be planted, preaching was moſt neceſſary; but among us, now long eſtabliſhed in the faith, he thought it not the only neceſſary duty to be performed, and the other to be ſo profanely neglected and contemned. *Which motion his Majeſty liked exceeding well, very acutely taxing the hypocriſie of our times, which placeth all Religion in the ear, through which, there is an eaſy paſſage, but Prayer, which expreſſeth the hearts affection, and is the true devotion of the mind, as a matter putting us to overmuch trouble (wherein there concurre, if Prayer be as it ought, an unpartial conſideration for our own eſtates, a due examination to whom we pray, an humble confeſſion of our ſins, with an hearty ſorrow for them; and repentance not ſevered from Faith) is accounted and uſed as the leaſt part of Religion.*

The ſecond was, that till ſuch time as learned and

and ſufficient men might be planted in every Congregation, that Godly Homilies might be read, and the number of them increaſed, and that the Opponents would labour to bring them into credit again, as formerly they brought them into contempt. Every Man (ſaith he) that can pronounce well, cannot indite well.

The Kings Majeſty approved this motion, eſpecially, where the living is not ſufficient for maintenance of a learned Preacher; as alſo in places, where plenty of Sermons are, as in the City, and great Townes. In the Countrey villages where Preachers are not near together, he could wiſh Preaching; but where there are a multitude of Sermons, there he would have Homilies to be read divers times: And therein he aſked the aſſent of the Plaintiffs, and they confeſſe it. A preaching Miniſtery, ſaith his Majeſty, *was beſt, but where it might not be had, Godly prayers and exhortations did much good. That that may be done, let it, and let the reſt that cannot, be tolerated.* Somewhat was here ſpoken by the Lord *Chancellor*, of livings rather wanting learned Men, than learned Men livings. Many in the Univerſities pining, Maſters, Batchelors, and upwards: wiſhing therefore, that ſome might have ſingle coats, before other had dublets; and

here

here his Lordſhip ſhewed the courſe, that he had ever taken, in beſtowing the Kings Benefices; my Lord of *London*, commending his Honourable care that way, withall excepted that a dublet was neceſſary in cold weather: the Lord *Chancellor* replied, that he did it not for diſlike of the liberty of our Church, in granting one Man two Benefices, but out of his own private purpoſe and practice, grounded upon the foreſaid reaſon.

The laſt motion, by my Lord of *London* was, that Pulpits, might not be made paſquils, wherein every humorous, or diſcontented fellow might traduce his ſuperiors. *Which the King very graciouſly accepted, exceedingly reproving that, as a lewd cuſtome; threatning, that if he ſhould but hear of ſuch a one in a Pulpit, he would make him an example: concluding with a ſage admonition to the opponents, that every Man ſhould ſolicite & draw his friends to make peace, and if any thing were amiſſe in the Church officers, not to make the Pulpit the place of perſonal reproof, but to let his* Majeſty *hear of it: yet by degrees.*

Firſt, let complaint be to the Ordinary of the place, from him to go to the Arch-Biſhop; from him, to the Lords of his Majeſties Counſel, and from

from them, if in all theſe places no remedy is found, to his own ſelf. Which caveat his Majeſty put in, for that the Biſhop of *London* had told him, that if he left himſelf open to admit of all complaints, neither his Majeſty ſhould ever be quiet, nor his under-officers regarded: ſeeing, that now already no fault can be cenſured, but preſently the Delinquent threatneth a complaint to the King: and for an inſtance, he added, how a Printer, whom he had taken faulty, very lately anſwered him in that very kind.

Doctor *Rein.* commeth now to *Subſcription*, (which concerneth the fourth general head, as he firſt propounded it, namely, *The Communion Book,)* taking occaſion to leap into it here, as making the urging of it to be a great impeachment to a learned Miniſtery, and therefore intreated, it might not be exacted as heretofore, for which many good Men were kept out, other removed, and many diſquieted. To ſubſcribe according to the ſtatutes of the Realm, namely, to the Articles of Religion, and the Kings Supremacy, they were not unwilling. The reaſon of their backwardneſſe to ſubſcribe otherwiſe was, firſt the Books *Apocrypal;* which the *Common-Prayer Book* injoyned to be read in the Church, albeit, there are, in ſome of thoſe Chapters

Chapters appointed, manifeſt errors, directly repugnant to the Scriptures: the particular inſtance, which he then inferred, was, *Eccluſ.* 48. 10, where he charged the Author of that Book, to have held the ſame opinion with the *Jewes* at this day, namely, that *Elias*, in perſon, was to come before Chriſt, and therefore, as yet, Chriſt, by that Reaſon, not come in the fleſh; and ſo, conſequently, it implied a denial of the chief Article of our redemption; his Reaſon of thus charging the Author, was, becauſe that *Ecclus* uſed the very word of *Elias, in perſon*, which the Prophet *Malachy*, *Cap.* 4. doth apply to an *Elias* in reſemblance, which both an Angel, *Luke.* 1. and our Saviour Chriſt, *Mat.* 11. did interpret to be *John Baptiſt.* The anſwer was, as the objection, twofold. Firſt, general, for *Apocrypha Books;* The Biſhop of *London* ſhewing, firſt, for the antiquity of them, that the moſt of the objections made againſt thoſe Books were the old Cavils of the *Jewes*, renewed by Saint *Jerome* in his time, who was the firſt that gave them the name of *Apocrypha*, which opinion, upon *Ruffinus*, his challenge, he, after a ſort, diſclaimed, the rather, becauſe a general offence was taken at his ſpeeches in that kind, firſt, for the continuance of them in the Church out of *Kimedoncius*, and *Chemnitius*, two modern writers.

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The Biſhop of *Winton* remembred the diſtinction of Saint *Jerome, Canonici ſunt ad informandos mores, non ad confirmandam fidem,* which diſtinction he ſaid, muſt be held for the juſtifying of ſundry Councels. *His* Majeſty *in the end, ſaid, he would take an even order between both, affirming, that he would not wiſh all* Canonical Books *to be read in the Church, unleſſe, there were one to interpret, nor any* Apocrypha *at all, wherein there was any error, but for the other, which were clear, and correſpondent to the Scriptures, he would have them read, for elſe, ſaith his Majeſty, why were they printed? And therein ſhewed the uſe of the books of* Machabees, *very good to make up the ſtory of the perſecution of the* Jewes; *but not to teach a man either to Sacrifize for the dead, or to kill himſelf.*

And here his Highneſſe aroſe from his chair, & withdrew himſelf into his inner chamber a little ſpace, in the mean time a great queſtioning was amongſt the Lords, about that place of *Eccluſ.* with which, as if it had been their reſt and upſhot, they began afreſh, at his Majeſties return; *Who, ſeeing them ſo to urge it, and ſtand upon it, calling for a Bible, firſt ſhewed the Author of that book, who he was, then the Cauſe why he wrote that Book, next analyzed the Chapter it ſelf, ſhewing the precedents and conſequents thereof;*

thereof; laſtly, ſo exactly and Divine like, unfolded the ſumme of that place, arguing, and demonſtrating, that whatſoever Ben Sirach *had ſaid there of* Elias, Elias *had in his own perſon, while he lived, performed and accompliſhed, ſo that the* Sufurrus, *at the firſt mention, was not ſo great, as the aſtoniſhment was now at the King his ſudden and ſound, and indeed, ſo admirable an interpretation; concluding, firſt, with a ſerious check to Doctor* Reinolds, *that it was not good to impoſe upon a Man, that was dead, a ſenſe never meant by him: Secondly, with a pleaſant* Apoſtrophe *to the Lords; What, trow ye, make theſe Men ſo angry with* Eccleſiaſticus? *By my Soul, I think he was a Biſhop, or elſe they would never uſe him ſo. But for the general, it was appointed by his Majeſty, that Doctor* Rein. *ſhould note thoſe Chapters in the* Apocrypha books, *where thoſe offenſive places were, and ſhould bring them unto the Lord* Arch-Biſhop *of* Canterb. *againſt* Wedneſday *next; and ſo he was willing to go on.*

The next Scruple againſt Subſcription was, that old *Crambe his poſita*, that in the common Prayer Book, it is twice ſet down, *Jeſus ſaid to his Diſciples;* when as by the original text it is plain, that he *ſpake to the Phariſees.* To which it was anſwered, that for ought that could appear by the places, he might ſpeak as well to

his

his *Diſciples*, they being preſent, as to the *Phariſees*. But his Majeſty keeping an even hand, willed that the word *Diſciples* ſhould be omitted, and the words *Jeſus ſaid*, to be printed in a different letter, that might appear, not to be a part of the Text.

The third objection againſt Subſcription, were *Interogatories in Baptiſm*, propounded to Infants, which being a profound point, was put upon Maſter *Knewſtubs* to purſue: who in a long and perplexed ſpeech, ſaid ſomething out of *Auſten*, that *Baptizare* was *credere*, but what it was, his Majeſty plainly confeſſed, *Ego non intelligo*, and aſked the Lords what they thought he meant? it ſeemed that one preſent conceived him, for he ſtanding at his back, bad him urge the punct, urge that punct, that is a good point. My Lord of *Winton* aiming at his meaning, ſhewed him the uſe thereof out of Saint *Auſten*, and added the Fathers reaſon for it, *Qui peccavit in altero, credat in altero;* which was ſeconded by his Majeſty (whom it pleaſed, for the reſt of the matters which followed, himſelf alone to anſwer, and juſtly might he appropriate it to himſelf, for none preſent were able with quicker conceit to underſtand, with a more ſingular dexterity to refute, with a more judicious reſolution to determine than his *Majeſty:* herein

herein being more admirable, that theſe points, wherein ſome thought him prejudicial to the contrary, all of us ſuppoſed him to have been but a ſtranger to them, he could ſo intelligently apprehend, and ſo readily argue about them,) it was, I ſay, ſeconded by his Majeſty; firſt.

By Reaſon that the queſtion ſhould be propounded to the party whom it principally concerned.

Secondly, by example of himſelf to whom interrogatories were propounded when he was crowned in his Infancy, *King* of *Scotland.*

And here his Majeſty, (as hereafter at the end of every objection he did) aſked them whether they had any more to ſay.

Maſter *Knewſtubs* took exceptions to the Croſs in Baptiſm, being in number two.

Firſt, the offence of weak brethren, grounded upon the words of Saint *Paul, Rom.* 14. and 1 *Cor.* 8. *viz.* The conſciences of the Weak, not to be offended: which places his excellent Majeſty anſwered moſt accutely, beginning with that general rule of the Fathers: *Diſtingue tempora, & concordabunt Scripturæ. Shewing here the difference of thoſe times and ours, then a Church*

not fully planted, nor ſetled, but ours long eſtabliſhed and flouriſhing; then Chriſtians newly called from Paganiſm, and not throughly grounded, which is not the caſe of this Church, ſeeing that Heatheniſh Doctrine, for many years, hath been hence abandoned.

Secondly, with a queſtion unanſwerable, aſking them how long they would be weak? whether 45 yeares were not ſufficient for them to grow ſtrong? Thirdly, who they were pretended this weakneſſe: For we, ſaith the King, require not now ſubſcription of Laiks and Idiots, but Preachers and Miniſters, who are not ſtill, I trow, to be fed with milk, but are enabled to feed others.

Fourthly, that it was to be doubted, ſome of them were ſtrong enough, if not headſtrong, and howſoever they in this caſe pretended weakneſs, yet ſome, in whoſe behalf they now ſpake, thought themſelves able to teach him, and all the Biſhops of the Land.

His objection againſt the Croſs, conſiſted of three Interrogatories; Firſt, whether the Church had power to inſtitute an external ſignificant ſign? to which was replied; firſt, that he miſtook the uſe of the Croſſe with us, which was not

not uſed in Baptiſm, any otherwiſe than only as ceremony.

Secondly, by their own example, who make impoſition of hands in their ordination of Paſtors, to be a ſign ſignificant.

Thirdly, in prayer, ſaith the Biſhop of *Winton*, the kneeling on the ground, the lifting up of our hands, the knocking of our breaſts, are Ceremonies ſignificant; The firſt, of our humility coming before the mighty God; The ſecond, of our confidence and hope; the other, of our ſorrow and deteſtation of our ſins, and theſe are, and may lawfully be uſed. Laſtly, M. Dean of the Chapel remembred the practiſe of the *Jews*, who unto the inſtitution of the Paſſeover, preſcribed unto them by *Moſes*, had, as the Rabbins witneſſe, added both ſignes and words, eating ſowre herbs, and drinking wine, with theſe words, to both, Take and eat theſe in remembrance, *&c.* Drink this in remembrance, *&c.* Upon which addition and tradition of theirs, our Saviour inſtituted the Sacrament of his laſt Supper, in celebrating it with the ſame words, and after the ſame manner; thereby approving that fact of theirs in particular, and generally, that a Church may inſtitute and retain a ſigne ſignificant: which ſatisfied his Majeſty exceeding well.

And here the King desired to have himself made acquainted about the antiquity of the use of the Crosse, which Doctor *Reynolds* confessed to have been ever since the Apostles times; but this was the difficulty, to prove it of that ancient use in Baptism. For that at their going abroad, or entering into the Church, or at their prayers and benedictions, it was used by the Ancients, desired no great proof: But whether in Baptism, Antiquity approved it, was the doubt cast in by M. Deane of *Sarum*, whom his Majesty singled out, with a special Encomion, that he was a man well travelled in the Ancients: which doubt was answered, *obsignatis tabulis*, by the Dean of *Westminster*, (whom the Kings *Majesty*, upon my Lord of *Londons* motion, willed to speak to that point) out of *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Origen*, and others, that it was used in *Immortali lavacro:* which words being a little descanted, it fell from one, I think it was my Lord of *Winchester*, *obiter*, to say, that in *Constantine* his time, it was used in Baptism. *What quoth the King, and is it now come to that passe, that we shall appeach* Constantine *of Popery, and superstition? if then it were used, saith his Majesty, I see no reason, but that still we may continue it.*

Master *Knewstubs* his second question was, that put case, the Church had such power to adde

adde ſignificant ſignes, whether it might there adde them, where Chriſt had already ordained one; which he ſaid was no leſſe derogatory, to Chriſts inſtitution, as he thought, than if any Potentate of this Land, ſhould preſume to adde his Seal to the great Seal of *England*. *To which his Majeſty anſwered, that the caſe was not alike, for that no ſign or thing was added to the Sacrament, which was fully and perfectly finiſhed, before any mention of the Croſſe is made, for confirmation whereof, he willed the place to be read.*

Laſtly, if the Church had that power alſo, yet the greateſt Scruple to their Conſcience was, how farre ſuch an ordinance of the Church was to bind them, without impeaching their Chriſtian Liberty? *Whereat, the King, as it ſeemed, was much moved, and told him, he would not argue that point with him, but anſwer therein, as Kings are wont to ſpeak in Parliament,* Le Roy s'aviſera, *adding withall, that it ſmelled very rankly of Anabaptiſm: comparing it unto the uſage of a beardleſſe boy, (one Maſter* John Black) *who the laſt Conference his Majeſty had with the Miniſters in* Scotland, *(in* December, 1602.*) told him, that he would hold conformity with his Majeſties ordinances, for matters of doctrine; but for matters of Ceremonie, they were to be left in Chriſtian Liberty to every man, as he*

 received

received more and more light, from the illumination of Gods ſpirit, even till they go mad, quoth the King, with their own light: but I will none of that; I will have one doctrine, and one diſcipline, one Religion in ſubſtance, and in ceremony: and therefore I charge you never to ſpeak more to that point, (how far you are bound to obey?) when the Church hath ordained it. And ſo aſked them again, if they had any thing elſe to ſay.

Doctor *Reynolds* objected the example of the Braſen Serpent, demoliſhed and ſtampt to powder by *Ezechias*, becauſe the people abuſed it to Idolatry, wiſhing that in like ſort, the Croſs ſhould be abandoned, becauſe in the time of Popery, it had been ſuperſtitiouſly abuſed. Whereunto the Kings Majeſty anſwered divers wayes. Firſt, quoth he, though I be ſufficiently perſwaded of the Croſs in Baptiſm, and the commendable uſe thereof in the Church ſo long; yet, if there were nothing elſe to move me, this very argument were an inducement to me, for the retaining of it, as it is now by order eſtabliſhed: For inaſmuch, as it was abuſed, So you ſay, to ſuperſtition, in time of Popery, it doth plainly imply, that it was well uſed before Popery. I will tell you, I have lived among this ſort of men, (ſpeaking to the Lords and Biſhops,)

ſhops,) ever ſince I was tenne years old, but I may ſay of myſelf, as Chriſt did of himſelf, Though I lived amongſt them, yet ſince I had ability to judge, I was never of them; neither did any thing make me more to condemn, and deteſt their courſes, than that they did ſo peremptorily diſallow of all things, which at all had been uſed in Popery. For my part, I know not how to anſwer the objection of the Papiſts, when they charge us with Novelties: but truely to tell them, that their abuſes are New, but the things which they abuſed we retain in their Primitive uſe, and forſake only the Novel corruption. By this argument we might renounce the Trinity, and all that is holy, becauſe it was abuſed in Popery: (and ſpeaking to Doctor *Reynolds* merily) they uſed to wear hoſe and ſhooes in Popery, therefore you ſhall now go barefoot.

Secondly, quoth his Majeſty, what reſemblance is there between the Braſen Serpent, a material viſible thing, and the ſign of the Croſſe made in the Aire?

Thirdly, I am given to underſtand by the Biſhops, and I find it true, that the Papiſts themſelves did never aſcribe any power or ſpiri-

tuall grace to the Signe of the Croſſe in Baptiſm.

Fourthly, you ſee, that the material Croſſes, which in time of Popery were made, for Men to fall down before them, as they paſſed by them, to worſhip them (as the Idolatrous *Jews* did the Braſen Serpent) are demoliſhed, as you deſire.

The next thing which was objected, was, the wearing of the Surplis, a kind of garment, which the Prieſts of *Iſis* uſed to wear. Surely, ſaith his Majeſty, untill of late, I did not think that it had been borrowed from the Heathen, becauſe it is commonly tearmed, a Ragge of Popery, in ſcorn; but were it ſo, yet neither did we border upon Heatheniſh Nations, neither are any of them converſant with us, or commorant amongſt us, who thereby might take juſt occaſion to be ſtrengthned, or confirmed in Paganiſm, for then there were juſt cauſe to ſuppreſſe the wearing of it: but ſeeing it appeared out of antiquity, that in the celebration of divine Service, a different habit appertained to the Miniſtry; and principally, of white Linnen, he ſaw no reaſon, but that in this Church, as it had been, for comelineſſe, and for order ſake, it might be ſtill continued. This being his conſtant

ſtant and reſolute opinion, that no Church ought further to ſeparate itſelf from the Church of *Rome*, either in Doctrine or Ceremony, than ſhe had departed from herſelf, when ſhe was in her flouriſhing and beſt eſtate, and from Chriſt her Lord and Head. And here again he aſked, what more they had to ſay.

D. *Reynolds* took exceptions at thoſe words in the Common Prayer Book, of Matrimony, *With my body I thee worſhip.* His Majeſty looking upon the place; I was made believe, (ſaith he) that the phraſe did import no leſſe than Divine worſhip and adoration: but by the examination I find, that it is an uſual Engliſh tearm, as a Gentleman of worſhip, *&c.* And the ſenſe agreeable unto Scriptures, Giving honour to the wife, *&c.* But turning to Doctor *Reyn.* (with ſmiling ſaith his Majeſty) Many a man ſpeakes of *Robin Hood*, who never ſhot in his Bow: if you had a good wife yourſelf, you would think all the honour and worſhip you could do to her, were well beſtowed.

The Dean of Sarum *mentioned the Ring in marriage; which Doctor* Reyn. *approved, and the King confeſſed that he was Married withall; and added, that he thought they would prove to*

be

be ſcarce well Married, who are not Married with a Ring.

He likewiſe ſpake of the Churching of women, by the name of Purification, which being read out of the book, his Majeſty very well allowed it, and pleaſantly ſaid, that Women were loth enough of themſelves to come to Church, and therefore he would have this, or any other occaſion to draw them thither.

And this was the ſubſtance and ſumme of that third general point. At which pawſe, it growing toward night, his Majeſty aſked again, if they had any more to ſay: If they had, becauſe it was late, they ſhould have another day; but M. Doctor *Reynolds* told him, that they had but one point more, which was the laſt general head; but it pleaſed his Majeſty, firſt to aſk what they could ſay to the Cornerd Cap? They all approved it: *Well then, ſaid his Majeſty, turning himſelf to the Biſhops, you may now ſafely wear your Caps: but I ſhall tell you, if you ſhould walk in one ſtreet in* Scotland, *with ſuch a Cap on your head, if I were not with you, you ſhould be ſtoned to death with your Cap.*

In the fourth general head touching Diſcipline, Doctor *Reyn.* firſt took exception to the committing

committing of Eccleſiaſtical cenſures unto Lay-Chancellors; his reaſon was, that in the Statute made in King *Henry* his time, for their Authority, that was abrogated in Queen *Maries* time, and not revived in the late Queens daies: and abridged by Biſhops themſelves 1571. Ordering that the ſaid Lay-Chancellors ſhould not excommunicate in matters of Correction, and *An.* 1584, and 1589. Not in matters of inſtance, but to be done onely by them, who had power of the Keies: *His Majeſty anſwered; He had already conferred with his Biſhops, about that point, and that ſuch order ſhould be taken therein, as was convenient, willing him in the mean time, to go to ſome other matter, if he had any.* Then he deſireth, that according to certain provincial conſtitutions, they of the Clergy might have meetings once every three weekes.

Firſt, in Rural Deanries, and therein to have Prophecying, according as the reverend Father Arch-Biſhop *Grindall*, and other Biſhops defired of her late Majeſty *.

Secondly, that ſuch things as could not be reſolved upon there, might be referred to the Archdeacons Viſitation, and ſo

* 1. Cor. 14.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, from thence to the Epiſcopal Synode, where the Biſhop with his Preſbytery, ſhould determine all ſuch points, as before could not be decided.

At which ſpeech, his Majeſty was ſomewhat ſtirred; yet, which is admirable in him, without paſſion, or ſhew thereof; thinking that they aymed at a Scotiſh Preſbytery, which, ſaith he, as well agreeth with a Monarchy, as God and the Devil. *Then* Jack, *and* Tom, *and* Will, *and* Dick *ſhall meet, and at their pleaſures cenſure me and my Councel, and all our proceedings: Then* Will *ſhall ſtand up and ſay, It muſt be thus; then* Dick *ſhall reply and ſay, nay Marry, but we will have it thus. And therefore, here I muſt once reiterate my former ſpeech,* Le Roy s'aviſera: *Stay I pray you, for one ſeven years, before you demand that of me: and if then you find me purſy and fat, and my wind pipes ſtuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you: for let that Government be once up, I am ſure I ſhall be kept in breath, then ſhall we all of us have work enough, both our hands full. But Doctor* Reynolds, *till you find that I grow lazy, let that alone.*

And here, becauſe that Doctor *Reyn.* had twice before obtruded the Kings Supremacie; firſt,

firſt, in the Article concerning the Pope; Secondly, in the point of ſubſcription; his Majeſty at thoſe times ſaid nothing: *But now growing to an end, he ſaid, I ſhall ſpeak of one matter more; yet ſomewhat out of order: but it ſkilleth not. Doctor* Reynolds *quoth the King, you have often ſpoken for my Supremacy; and it is well; but know you any here, or any elſewhere, who like of the preſent Government Eccleſiaſtical, that find fault or diſlike my Supremacy? Doctor* Reynolds *ſaid, No. Why then, ſaid his Majeſty, I will tell you a Tale. After that the Religion reſtored by King* Edward *the Sixth, was ſoon overthrown, by the ſucceſſion of Queen* Mary *here in* England, *we in* Scotland *felt the effect of it. Whereupon Maſter* Knox *writes to the Queen Regent, (of whom without flattery, I may ſay, that ſhe was a vertuous and moderate Lady,) telling her that ſhe was Supream Head of the Church, and charged her, as ſhe would anſwer it before Gods tribunal, to take care of Chriſt his Evangill, and of ſuppreſſing the Popiſh Prelates, who withſtood the ſame. But how long, trow ye, did this continue? Even ſo long, till by her authority, the Popiſh Biſhops were repreſſed, he himſelf, and his Adherents were brought in, and well ſettled, and by theſe meanes made ſtrong enough, to undertake the matters of Reformation themſelves. Then loe, they began to*

make

make ſmall account of her Supremacy, nor would longer reſt on her authority, but took the cauſe into their own hand, and according to that more light wherewith they were illuminated, made a further Reformation of Religion. How they uſed that poor Lady my Mother, is not unknown, and with grief I may remember it: who, becauſe ſhe had not been otherwiſe inſtructed, did deſire, only a private Chapell, wherein to ſerve God after her manner, with ſome few ſelected perſons, but her ſupremacy was not ſufficient to obtain it at their hands: And how they dealt with me in my minority, you all know, it was not done ſecretly, and though I would, I cannot conceal it. I will apply it thus. And then putting his hand to his Hat, his Majeſty ſaid, my Lords, the Biſhops, I may thank you, that theſe men do thus plead for my Supremacy: They think they cannot make their party good againſt you, but by appealing unto it, as if you, or ſome that adhere unto you, were not well affected towards it. But if once you were out, and they in place, I know what would become of my ſupremacy. No Biſhop, no King, as before I ſaid. Neither do I thus ſpeak at randome, without ground, for I have obſerved ſince my comming into England, *that ſome Preachers before me, can be content to pray for* James *King of* England, Scotland, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith,*

but

but as for ſupream Governor, in all cauſes, and over all perſons (as well Eccleſiaſtical as Civil) they paſſe that over with ſilence, & what cut they have been of, I after learned. After this, aſking them, if they had any more to object, and Doctor Reyn. *anſwering no;* His Majeſty appointed the next *Wedneſday* for both parties to meet before him, and riſing from his Chair, as he was going to his inner Chamber, *If this be all, quoth he, that they have to ſay, I ſhall make them conform themſelves, or I will harry them out of this Land, or elſe do worſe.*

And this was the ſumme of the ſecond dayes Conference, which raiſed ſuch an admiration in the Lords, in reſpect of the King his ſingular readyneſſe, and exact knowledge, that one of them ſaid, he was fully perſwaded, his Majeſty ſpake by the inſtinct of the Spirit of God. My Lord *Cicil* acknowledged, that very much we are bound to God, who had given us a King of an underſtanding heart. My Lord Chancellor paſſing out of the privy Chamber, ſaid unto the Dean of *Cheſter*, ſtanding by the door; I have often heard and read, that *Rex eſt mixta perſona cum Sacerdote*, but I never ſaw the truth thereof till this day.

Surely, whoſoever heard his Majeſty, might juſtly

juſtly think, that title did more properly fit him, which *Eunapius* gave to that famous Rhetorician, in ſaying, that he was, βιβλιοθήκη τὶς ἔμψυχος καὶ περιπατῶν μουσεῖον, A living Library and a Walking Studie.

Finis ſecundæ diei.

THE

THE

THIRD DAYES

CONFERENCE.

UPON *Wedneſday*, *January* 18. all the Biſhops, aforenamed, attended at the Court, and the Deanes: who were all called into the Privy Chamber, and who ſo elſe my Lord Arch-Biſhop appointed, (for ſuch was his Majeſties pleaſure) whereupon the Knights and Doctors of the Arches, *viz.* Sir *Daniel Dunne*, Sir *Thomas Crumpton*, Sir *Richard Swale*, Sir *John Bennet*, and Doctor *Drury* entred in. As ſoon as the King was ſet, the Lord Arch-Biſhop preſented unto him a note of thoſe points, which his Majeſty had referred to their conſideration, upon the firſt day, and the alteration, or rather explanation of them in our Liturgie.

1. Abſolution or Remiſſion of ſinnes, in the Rubrick of Abſolution.

2. In private Baptiſm, the lawfull Miniſter preſent.

3. Examination, with Confirmation of Children.

4. *Jeſus* ſaid to them; twice to be put into the Dominical Goſpels, inſtead of *Jeſus* ſaid to his Diſciples.

His Majeſty here taking the Common Prayer Book, and turning to private Baptiſm, willed, that where the words were (in the Rubrick, the ſecond Paragraph) They Baptize not Children, *Now it ſhould be thus read;* They cauſe not children to be baptized; *and again in the ſame paragraph, for thoſe words;* Then they Miniſter it, *it ſhould be;* The Curate, or lawful Miniſter preſent, ſhall do it on this faſhion. *Concluding very gravely, that in this Conference, he aimed at three things principally; Firſt, The ſetting down of words fit and convenient; Secondly, Contriving how things might be beſt done, without appearance of alteration; Thirdly, Practiſed, that each man may do his duty in his place.*

After this, his Majeſty fell into diſcourſe about the high Commiſſion, *wherein he ſaid, that he*

underſtood, how the parties named therein, were too many and too mean; that the matters they dealt in were baſe, and ſuch as Ordinaries at home in their Courts might cenſure; that the branches granted out to the Biſhops in their ſeveral Dioceſſes, were too frequent and large. To which, my Lords Grace anſwered ſeverally. Firſt, for the number, it was requiſite it ſhould be great, for otherwiſe, he muſt be forced, as oft-times now it fell out, to ſit alone, becauſe, that albeit all the Lords of the Privy Counſel were in, all the Biſhops, many of the Judges at Law, and ſome of the Clerks of the Councel, yet very few, or none of them, ſitting with him at ordinary times, ſome of meaner place, as Deanes, and Doctors of Divinity, and Law, muſt needs be put in; whoſe attendance his Grace might with more authority command and expect. Secondly, for the matters handled therein, he ſaid, that he oftentimes had complained thereof, but ſaw that it could not be remedied; becauſe, that the fault may be of that nature, as that the ordinary juriſdiction might cenſure it: but eftſoones it falls out, that the party delinquent is too great, and ſo the Ordinary dare not proceed againſt him; or ſo mighty in his ſtate, or ſo wilful in his contumacie, that he will not obey the Summons or cenſure; and ſo the Ordinary is forced to crave help at

the High Commiſſion. To the third, his Grace ſaid, that it concerned not him to make anſwer thereunto, for ſuch Commiſſions have been granted againſt his will oftentimes, and without his knowledge for the moſt part. My Lord Chancellor therefore offered it to his Majeſties wiſdom to conſider, if ſuch Commiſſions ſhould not be granted to any Biſhop, but ſuch as have the largeſt Dioceſſes, *which his Majeſty well approved: and added withall, that thoſe Biſhops who have in their Dioceſſes, the moſt troubleſome and refractory perſons, either Papiſts, or Puritans: but of this, as alſo of the other things found fault with herein, he willed thoſe to conſult, to whom ſhould be appointed the review of the Commiſſion.* And here that point had ended, but that one of the Lords, (I think verily rather upon miſinformation, than ſet purpoſe,) pleaſed to ſay, that the proceeding thereby, was like unto the *Spaniſh* Inquiſition, wherein men were urged to ſubſcribe more than Law required; that by the Oath *Ex officio*, they were inforced to accuſe themſelves; that they were examined upon 20, or 24. Articles, upon the ſudden, without deliberation, and for the moſt part againſt themſelves: for the evidence thereof, a letter was ſhewed of an ancient Honourable Councellor, written to the Lord Arch-Biſhop, *Anno.* 1584, of two Miniſters of *Cambridgeſhire*,

bridgeſhire, then or there abouts, examined upon many Articles, and in the end deprived. The Lord Arch-Biſhop anſwered, firſt, to the matter, that in the manner of proceeding, and examining, his Lordſhip was deceived: for if any Article did touch the party any way, either for life, liberty, or ſcandal, he might refuſe to anſwer, neither was he urged thereunto. Secondly, to the letter, being in a cauſe twenty years ſince determined, he could not anſwer the particulars, but if his anſwer to that letter were found out, he doubted not, but as it did ſatisfie that honourable Councellour when he lived, ſo it would alſo ſufficiently clear this complaint before his Majeſty.

My Lord of *London*, for the matter of Subſcription, ſhewed his Highneſſe the 3. Articles which the Church-men of *England*, are to approve by Subſcribing; namely, the Kings Supremacy, the Articles of Religion, and the Book of Common Prayer. All which it pleaſed his Majeſty himſelf, to read, (and after a little glance given, that the mention of the Oath *Ex officio*, came in before his due time) he dilated, firſt, how neceſſary Subſcription was, in every well governed Church; that it was to be urged, for the keeping of peace: for as Laws to prevent killing, did provide there ſhould be no quarrel-

ling; ſo to prevent greater tumults in the Church, ſubſcription was requiſite. Secondly, becauſe the Biſhop is to anſwer for every Miniſter, whom he admitteth into his Dioceſſe, it were fitteſt for him, to know the affection of the party before his admittance, the beſt way to know him, and to prevent future factions, was to urge his ſubſcription at his firſt entrance: for, *Turpius ejicitur, quàm non admittitur hoſpes.* Thirdly, as ſubſcription was a good meanes to diſcern the affection of perſons, whether quiet or turbulent; *Withall it was the principal way to avoid confuſion: concluding, that if any, after things were well ordered, would not be quiet, and ſhew his obedience, the Church were better without him, he were worthy to be hanged.* Præſtat ut pereat unus, quam unitas.

Touching the Oath *Ex officio*, the Lord Chancellor, and after him the Lord Treaſurer, ſpake both for the neceſſity, and uſe thereof in diverſe Courts, & caſes. *But his Excellent Majeſty preventing that old allegation,* Nemo cogitur detegere ſuam turpitudinem, *ſaid, that the Civil proceedings only puniſhed facts, but in Courts Eccleſiaſtical, it was requiſite, that Fame and Scandals ſhould be looked unto. That here was neceſſary, the Oath* Compurgatorie, *and the Oath* Ex officio *too; and yet great moderation*

ſhould

ſhould be uſed, firſt, In gravioribus criminibus: *and Secondly, in ſuch, whereof there is a publick fame: Thirdly, in diſtinguiſhing of publick Fame, either cauſed by the inordinate demeanor of the offendor, or raiſed by the undiſcreet proceeding in trial of the fact: as namely in* Scotland, *where the lying with a wench (though done privately, and known, or ſcarce ſuſpected by two or three perſons before) was made openly known to the King, to the Queen, to the Prince, to many hundreds in the Court, by bringing the parties to the ſtool of Repentance, and yet perhaps be but a ſuſpicion only. And here his Majeſty ſo ſoundly deſcribed the Oath* Ex officio: *Firſt, for the ground thereof: Secondly, The wiſdom of the Law therein; Thirdly, The manner of proceeding thereby, and the neceſſary and profitable effect thereof, in ſuch a compendious, but abſolute order, that all the Lords and the reſt of the preſent Auditors, ſtood amazed at it:* The Arch-Biſhop of *Canterbury* ſaid that undoubtedly his Majeſty ſpake by the ſpecial aſſiſtance of Gods Spirit. The Biſhop of *London* upon his knee, proteſted, that his heart melted within him, (as ſo he doubted not, did the hearts of the whole Company) with joy, and made haſte to acknowledge unto Almighty God, the ſingular mercy we have received at his hands, in giving us ſuch a King, as ſince Chriſt his time, the like he

thought had not been, whereunto the Lords with one voice, did yield a very affectionate Acclamation. The Civilians preſent confeſſed, that they could not in many houres warning, have ſo judicially, plainly, and accurately, and in ſuch a brief manner have deſcribed it.

After this, his Majeſty committed ſome weighty matters to be conſulted of, by the Lords and Biſhops; Firſt, for Excommunication, in cauſes of leſſe moment the name or cenſure to be altered, ſecondly, for the high Commiſſion, the quality of the perſons to be named, and the nature of the cauſes to be handled therein. Thirdly, for recuſant Communicants; for there are three ſorts, ſaith his Majeſty, of Papiſts: Some, firſt, which come to Sermons, but not to ſervice and prayer; ſecondly, ſome which come to both them, but not to the Communion; thirdly, a number which abſtain from all. That inquiry might be made of all thoſe, who were of the firſt, ſecond, or third rank, concluding therein, That the weak were to be informed, the wilful to be puniſhed.

Here my Lord Chancellor mentioned the writ *De Excommunicato capiendo*, which his Honor ſaid did moſt affright the Papiſts, of all other puniſhments, becauſe by reaſon of that they were

were many wayes diſabled in law: therefore he would take order, if his Majeſty ſo pleaſed, to ſend that writ out againſt them freely without charge, and if they were not executed, his Lordſhip would lay the Under-ſheriffes in Priſon, and to this the King aſſented.

The fourth thing to be conſulted of was for the ſending and appointing of Preachers into Ireland, *whereof, ſaith his Majeſty, I am but half a King, being Lord over their bodies, but their ſoules ſeduced by Popery, he much pittied, affirming, that where there is not true Religion, there can be no continued obedience: nor for* Ireland *only, but for ſome part of* Wales, *and the Northern borders, ſo once called, though now no borders: the men to be ſent, not to be factious, or ſcandalous, for weeds will be weeds, whereſoever they be, and are good for nothing, but to be piked over the wall, therefore they ſhould ſingle out men of ſincerity, of knowledge, of courage.*

The laſt was, for proviſion of ſufficient maintenance for the Clergie; and withall, for the planting of a learned and painful Miniſter in every Pariſh, as time ſhall ſerve.

To every of theſe, his Majeſty willed that ſeveral Commiſſioners

Commiſſioners of his Councel and Biſhops ſhould be appointed by the Lords upon the diſſolving the aſſembly preſent.

And thus having conferred of theſe points with the Biſhops, and referred other ſome of them, as you heard, to ſpecial Committies, his Majeſty willed, that Doctor *Reyn.* and his aſſociates, ſhould be called in, to whom, he preſently ſignified, what was done, and cauſed the alterations, or explications, before named, to be read unto them. A litle diſputing there was, about the words in Marriage, *With my body I thee worſhip,* and arguing no other thing to be meant, by the word worſhip, than that, which Saint *Paul* willeth, 1. *Cor.* 7. 4. the man thereby acknowledging, that hereby he worſhipeth his wife, in that he appropriateth his body unto her alone: nor any more, than that which *S. Peter* counſelleth, 1. *Pet.* 3. 7. That the man ſhould give honour to his wife, as the weaker veſſel; yet for their ſatisfaction ſhould be put in, With my body I thee worſhip, and honour, if it were thought fit; and ſo his Majeſty ſhut up all with a moſt pithy exhortation to both ſides for Unity, perſwading diligence in each mans place, without violence on the one party, or diſobedience on the other, and willed them to deal with their friends abroad to that purpoſe;

purpoſe: For his Majeſty feared, and had ſome experience, that many of them were tickliſh and humorous; nor that only, but labourers to pervert others to their fancies; he now ſaw that the exceptions againſt the Communion Book, were matters of weakneſſe; therefore if the perſons reluctant be diſcreet, they will be won betimes, and by good perſwaſions; if undiſcreet, better they were removed: For many by their factious behaviour were driven to be Papiſts. Now then of their fruits he ſhall judge them, obedience and humility being marks of Honeſt and good men, & is expected of them; and by their example and perſwaſion of all their ſort abroad, for, if hereafter, things being thus well ordered, they ſhould be unquiet, neither his Majeſty, nor the ſtate, had any cauſe to think well of them.

To which, they gave all their unanimous aſſent, taking exceptions againſt nothing that was ſaid or done, but promiſed to perform all duty to the Biſhops, as their Reverend Fathers, and to joyn with them againſt the common adverſaries, and for the quiet of the Church.

Only, Maſter *Chatterton*, of *Emmanuel College*, kneeling, requeſted that the wearing of the Surplis, and the uſe of the Croſſe in Baptiſm,

tiſm, might not be urged upon ſome honeſt, godly, and painful Miniſters in ſome parts of *Lancaſhire*, who feared, that if they ſhould be forced to them, many whom they had won to the Goſpel, would ſlide back, and revolt unto Popery again; and particularly, inſtanced the Vicar of *Rateſdale* (he could not have light upon a worſe,) for not many years before, he was proved before my Lord Arch Biſhop, as his Grace there teſtified, and my Lord Chancellour, by his unſeemly, and unreverent uſage of the Euchariſt, dealing the bread out of a baſket, every man putting in his hand, and taking out a peece, to have made many loath the Communion, and wholly refuſe to come to Church.

His Majeſty anſwered, that it was not his purpoſe, and he durſt anſwer for the Biſhops, that it was not their intent, preſently, and out of hand to inforce thoſe things, without Fatherly admonitions, conferences and perſwaſions premiſed; but wiſhed, that it ſhould be examined, if thoſe men by their pains and preaching, had converted any from Popery, and were withall men of quiet diſpoſition, honeſt of life, and diligent in their calling; if ſo, Letters ſhould be written to the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, (of whom his Majeſty gave a very good teſtimony) to that purpoſe,

poſe; if not, but that they were of a turbulent & opoſite Spirit, both they, & others of that unquiet humor, ſhould preſently be enforced to a conformity: and ſo for that point, it was concluded, that my Lord Arch-biſhop ſhould write to the Biſhop of *Cheſter*, his Letters for that matter.

My *Lord* of *London* replieth, that if this were granted, the Copy of theſe letters (eſpecially, if his *Majeſty* had written, as at firſt it was purpoſed) would flie over all *England*, and then others, for their confines, would make the ſame requeſt, and ſo no fruit would follow of this Conference, but things would be worſe than they were before.

Therefore he humbly deſired his *Majeſty*, that a time ſhould be limited, within which compaſſe, they ſhould conform themſelves. *To which his Majeſty readily aſſented, and willed, that the Biſhop of the Dioceſſe, ſhould ſet them down the time, and in the mean while conferre with them, and if they would not yield, whatſoever they were, to remove them, after their time expired.*

No ſooner was that motion ended, but down falls Maſter *Knewſtubs*, and he requeſts the like

favour

favour of forbearance, for ſome honeſt Miniſters in *Suffolk*, telling the King, it would make much againſt their Credits in the Country, to be now forced to the Surplis, and the Croſſe in Baptiſm. My Lords Grace was anſwering; Nay, ſaith his *Majeſty*, let me alone with him. *Sir, ſaith the King, you ſhew your ſelf an uncharitable man, we have here taken paines, and in the end have concluded of an unity, and uniformity, and you forſooth, muſt preferre the Credits of a few private men, before the generall peace of the Church: this is juſt the Scotiſh Argument; for when any thing was there concluded, which diſliked ſome humors, the only reaſon why they would not obey, was, it ſtood not with their credits to yield, having ſo long time been of the contrary opinion; I will none of that, ſaith the King, and therefore, either let them conform themſelves, and that ſhortly, or they ſhall hear of it.* My Lord *Cicill* put his *Majeſty* in mind, of a word his Highneſſe had uſed the day before, namely, of Ambling Communions, ſaying, that the indecency thereof, was very offenſive, and had driven many from the Church: And here Maſter *Chatterton* was told of ſitting Communions in *Emanuel* College; which he ſaid was ſo, by reaſon of the ſeats ſo plac'd as they be, yet that they had ſome kneeling alſo.

Finally,

Finally, they joyntly promiſed to be quiet and obedient, now they knew it to be the Kings mind to have it ſo. His Majeſties gracious concluſion was ſo piercing, as that it fetched tears from ſome on both ſides. My *Lord* of *London* ended all, in the name of the whole company, with a Thankſgiving unto God for his Majeſty, and a prayer for the health and proſperity of his Highneſſe, our gracious Queen, the young Prince, and all their Royal Iſſue.

His *Majeſty* departed into the inner Chamber: All the *Lords* preſently went to the Council *Chamber*, to appoint Commiſſioners for the ſeveral matters before referred.

FINIS.

THE PREFACE.

MANY Copies were ſent me, whereof ſome were ſo ſhameleſsly untrue, and I aſſure you ſo obſcœne, that I think his Majeſty would have been as much offended with me for Printing, as with the Authors for diſperſing them; I have choſen thereof the beſt and cleanlieſt, which do here under follow.

I give no Cenſure, neither know I the diſperſers, let the Reader conferre and judge, Rectum eſt judex ſui & obliqui.

THE FIRST COPY.

January, 15. 1603.

SIR, I cannot conceal from you the good ſucceſs which it hath pleaſed God to ſend us, by the Conference which his *Majeſty* had with the Biſhs. at the Court. There appeared none but the Biſhs. which were with the King above three hours. *Canter. Lond. Wint.* fell down on their knees, and deſired, that all things might remain, leſt the Papiſts ſhould think we have been in an errour. The King replyed, that in 42. years corruptions might creep in.

He ſpake of Confirmation, private Baptiſm, the Croſs, dumb Miniſtery, Non reſidence, the Courts, which he promiſed to amend, eſpecially he ſpake bitterly againſt private Baptiſm, ſaying, he had as lieve an Ape as a Woman ſhould baptize his Child, and againſt Courts, which he ſaid he would put down. The *Lord* Chief Juſtice, and the *Lord* Keeper ſpake much againſt them, and the *Lord Cecill* againſt Excommunications by *Lay-men*. M. Dean of the

Chapel ſpeaking ſomething to the King in his ear, the Biſhop of *London* inſolently ſaid unto him, Doctor *Montague*, ſpeak out, that we may hear you, and ſeek not to croſſe us. At their departure they ſaid, that if the King ſhould uſe the *Miniſters* in ſuch ſort, as they were uſed, they would be too inſolent. The King ſaid, they were his ſubjects, and if he would not hear them, then they had juſt cauſe to complain. The Biſhops brought forth many Popiſh arguments, which the King very earneſtly anſwered, and learnedly, more than ten times calling them Papiſh arguments, and ſaid, by thoſe reaſons they might prove Popery. The Biſhop of *Wincheſter* ſaid, that if he took away private Baptiſm, he overthrew all antiquity. The Biſhop of *Peterborow* brought forth a fooliſh argument, with much diſgrace to himſelf. The Biſhops having taken *Wedneſday*, to conſider of the Kings ſpeech, the Miniſters came to the King on *Monday* at nine of the clock. Honeſt men about the Court are comforted. Conformitans hang down their heads, and the Biſhops men curſe the Puritans.

Sic explicit prima dies.

ANOTHER

ANOTHER COPY.

I Have ſent you the declaration of the Conference, the which was in this manner: the firſt day the Biſhops of *Canterbury*, *London*, and *Wincheſter*, making earneſt ſute, that all things might ſtand as they did, leſt the Papiſts ſhould take offence, who might ſay, we would perſwade them to come to a Church, having errours in it; and the Puritans will ſay, they have been perſecuted long. The King anſwered, That the beſt ſtate would gather corruptions, and that it was no Argument for them to ſay, They would not be cured of the Pox, becauſe they had it 30. years. He concluded againſt Abſolution, Confirmation, private Baptiſm, the dumb and ſcandalous Miniſters, Pluralities, the Courts, and the authority of the Biſhops by the high Commiſſioners, *&c.* The ſecond day the Miniſters were convented before the King, who anſwered fearfully and modeſtly: the Biſhop of *London* behaved him

ſelf inſolently, ſaying theſe are *Cartwrights* Schollars, Schiſmatikes, breakers of your Majeſties Laws, you may know them by their Turky gownes and ſilk Turky Grogaram. The third day, they met all, where the King ſpake much to unity, that they might joyn againſt the Papiſts. All the three daies the King behaved himſelf admirable to the beholders, granting to the Miniſters their earneſt requeſt, that the Ceremonies of the Croſs in Baptiſm, and the Surpliſes, reverent for antiquity, ſhould not be urged upon the conſciences of the Miniſters, ſo that they were peaceable men, and that they ſhould have time to conſider of them, many hundreds being reſolved rather to have loſt their places, than to have yielded to thoſe ſuperſtitions, againſt which they had preached. The laſt day the Biſhop of *Canterbury* was intreated, to be a meanes that the Ceremonies might not be preſſed: but he anſwered, they had been urged as neceſſary, and ſhould be ſo ſtill. But it pleaſed God to move his Majeſty to a more peaceable courſe: the Biſhop of *Peterborow* came in with his argument about Baptiſm, which the King made void to his great reproach: The King ſaid many times, that the Biſhops reaſons were Popiſh, and that they might eſtabliſh Popery by them: it is thought that the King will be ſhortly in *Huntington-ſhire.* The Lord Chancellor,

Chancellor, the Lord *Cicill*, the Lord *Chief Juſtice*, and the *Atturney Generall*, muſt ſet down ſome courſe for the high Commiſſion, and the ſpiritual Courts.

A THIRD

A THIRD COPY.

Some of the ſpeeches that are bruted, upon M. Doctor *Reynold's return to* Oxon, *concerning the late conference before his Majeſty.*

1. THAT the Kings Majeſty did gratifie Maſter Doctor *Reynolds* in every thing which he propoſed: or that Doctor *Reynolds* obtained and prevailed in every thing he did deſire.

2. That if any man report the contrary, he doth lie, or that they ſhould give him the lie, from M. Doctor *Reynolds.*

3. That theſe things now obtained by the reformers, were but the beginning of reformation: the greater matters are yet to come.

4. That my Lord of *Winton* ſtood mute, and ſaid little or nothing.

5. That

5. That my Lord of *London* called Doctor *Reynolds* Schiſmatick indeed (he thanks him for it) but otherwiſe ſaid little to purpoſe.

6. That the Kings Majeſty uſed the Biſhops with very hard words, but imbraced Maſter Doctor *Reynolds,* and uſed moſt kind ſpeeches to him.

7. That my Lord of *Canterbury,* or my Lord of *London,* falling on his knees, beſought his Majeſty to take their cauſe into his own hands, and to make ſome good end of it, ſuch as might ſtand with their credit.

FINIS.

Bye and Law, Printers, St. John's Square Clerkenwell.

No. V.

THE

CHURCHMAN'S REMEMBRANCER:

BEING

A COLLECTION OF SCARCE AND VALUABLE TREATISES

IN DEFENCE OF THE TRULY PRIMITIVE

DOCTRINES AND DISCIPLINE

OF THE

ESTABLISHED CHURCH.

Enquire, I pray thee, of the former age, and prepare thyself to the search of their fathers: For we are but of yesterday, and know nothing.—JOB, viii. 8, 9.

Ο παλαιος χρηστοτερος εστιν. LUC. v. 39.

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1806.

EXTRACTS

FROM A WORK

ENTITLED,

APPELLO EVANGELIUM,

FOR THE

TRUE DOCTRINE

OF THE

DIVINE PREDESTINATION;

CONCORDED WITH THE

ORTHODOX DOCTRINE OF GOD'S FREE GRACE, AND MAN'S FREE WILL.

BY

JOHN PLAIFERE, B. D.

SOMETIME FELLOW OF SIDNEY-SUSSEX COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND LATE RECTOR OF DEBDEN, IN SUFFOLK.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE Treatiſe, from which the following extracts are taken, was firſt publiſhed at London, in the year 1653, when the points in controverſy, between Arminians and Calviniſts, or Remonſtrants and Anti-Remonſtrants, (as they were then more uſually called) were canvaſſed with the greateſt keenneſs of diſputation. In the year 1719, its uncommon excellence induced ſome learned perſons at Cambridge to reprint it, (with "ſome little alterations, omiſſions, and additions," as the editors ingenuouſly acknowledge) together with three other ſcarce and valuable tracts, of nearly the ſame date, and relating to the ſame topics *. But this collection

* The Cambridge Editors of Plaifere's Tract, were THOMAS PARNE, and JOHN BELLMAN, both of Trinity College, Cambridge. Thomas Parne, M. A. 1721. S.T.P. 1739. John Bellman, M. A. 1722. S.T.B. 1728. Hearne, in the Preface to Adam de Domerham, p. x. has this

 paſſage:

lection being now become ſcarce, it is apprehended, that the tract in queſtion is but little known. The learned Dr. Thomas Bennett has, however, in his "Directions for the Study of Divinity, and of the thirty-nine Articles," recommended it as a ſtandard work, on the ſubjects of which it treats, and as a neceſſary book for young ſtudents in Theology. Dr. Clagett (as in the Preface to the Cambridge edition is obſerved) was conſiderably indebted to it, for

paſſage: "Perplura optimæ notæ de rebus Glaſtonienſibus, è ſcriptis præclaris deprompta, memoriæ tradidit, [ſcil. Adam iſte de Domerham] digniſſimumque proinde judicavi, qui typis noſtris Sheldonianis imprimeretur, ad fidem nempe codicis pervetuſti, in bibliothecâ collegii Trinitatis Cantabrigiæ adſervati, mecum vero (Joanne Glaſtonienſi jam maximâ ex parte excuſo) *à doctiſſimo viro* THOMA PARNIO, ejuſdem collegii ſocio, perquam benevolè communicati, quo nomine gratias ipſi, pariter atque collegio, quod dixi, cumulatè eſſe agendas fatebèris, atque eò potiſſimum, quia non aliud auctoris hujus exemplar antiquum extare exiſtimo." Dr. Parne was alſo Rector of Walkington, Yorkſhire, and Chaplain in Ordinary; and publiſhed three ſingle Sermons, at Cambridge. See Cooke's Preacher's Aſſiſtant, Vol. II. p. 257.

The Tracts republiſhed at Cambridge, with that of Plaiſere, were Dr. Chriſtopher Potter's Letter on the Predeſtinarian Controverſies, (which was alſo printed with the original Edition of the Appello Evangelium) Biſhop Womock's Examination of Tilenus, and Dr. Goad's Diſputation concerning Eternal Decrees.

many

many things in his valuable treatiſe, on the operations of the Holy Spirit. Dr. Hey, likewiſe, the late Norriſian Profeſſor, in his very learned and elaborate Lectures in Divinity, refers to it, not unfrequently, as a work of great authority. The Editors of the Churchman's Remembrancer apprehend, therefore, that they are rendering an acceptable ſervice to the Church, in again bringing it forward to public notice.

In the preſent day, no leſs than in the times when this tract was written, it is the practice with too many, who profeſs extraordinary zeal for the Goſpel, to repreſent all who ſubſcribe to the Articles of our Church in any other than a Calviniſtic ſenſe, either as guilty of diſhoneſty, in ſubſcribing to what they do not believe, or as entertaining very defective notions of the Chriſtian ſcheme. To preach the *peculiarities of Calvin*, is, by them, too often identified with preaching *the Goſpel:* and true Churchmen are to be aſcertained, (according to *their* views of the ſubject) by this ſole criterion of Orthodoxy.

Plaifere's Appello Evangelium is, among other excellent properties which it poſſeſſes, well calculated to remove theſe prepoſſeſſions, and to ſhew, that a man may interpret the Scriptures, and ſubſcribe to the Articles of the Church of

England, in an Anti-Calviniſtic ſenſe, without any perverſion of the word of God, or any departure from the principles of our Church. The work is written in a ſtyle rather didactic, than polemical; the Author intending, (as appears no leſs from the Tract itſelf, than from his own declaration in the introductory part of it) impartially to examine and compare the ſeveral opinions relating to the great leading queſtions in the Predeſtinarian controverſy; and to form ſuch clear and ſatisfactory notions concerning them, as ſhould be conſonant with the ſenſe and ſpirit of the Holy Scriptures, with the judgment of the ancient Fathers of the Church, and with the doctrine of the Church of England, contained in the Book of Common Prayer, the Articles, and the Homilies. With this view, he firſt lays down five ſeveral opinions, maintained by Calviniſts, Arminians, and others, relative to the doctrine of Predeſtination, as the principal point on which the other controverted queſtions depend; ſubjoining to each opinion his obſervations on its particular merits. He then proceeds to a detailed conſideration of the ſeveral queſtions, branching out of this doctrine: treating, firſt, of thoſe truths which were *antecedent* to the creation of man, viz. God's Knowledge, Will, Providence, Election, and Reprobation; ſecondly, of thoſe which were

were *ſubſequent* to that event, viz. the Fall of Man, his Reſtoration, Vocation, and Converſion, Divine Grace, Free-will, Perſeverance, and the laſt Judgment. The doctrine of the whole Book is then briefly recapitulated; and a diſtinct Chapter is annexed, containing an Analyſis of the Seventeenth Article of the Church of England, and ſhewing its conformity to that opinion reſpecting the main queſtion, which the Author, throughout his Treatiſe, maintains.

From this work, the Editors have thought fit to ſelect, for republication, the twenty-firſt Chapter, which treats of the Seventeenth Article of our Church; prefixing the *Introduction*, and the *Six firſt Chapters*, as explanatory of the ſeveral opinions to which the Author adverts, and therefore neceſſary to the full elucidation of the ſubject. The queſtions of Predeſtination and Election, being thoſe on which all the other points in the controverſy depend, whatever affords a ſolution of thoſe queſtions, will ſerve to clear the reſt. Having, therefore, in a former number, revived Dr. Wincheſter's valuable Diſſertation, deſigned to ſhew what were the real ſentiments of the Compilers of this Article, on the ſubject of the Divine Decrees, the Editors apprehend, that theſe extracts

tracts from Plaifere's admirable Treatiſe, containing arguments drawn *from the Article itſelf*, to aſcertain its true purport and ſignification, will be received as an uſeful Appendix to that Diſſertation. For, as it has ſometimes been inſiſted, that the *Compilers* of our Articles were known and avowed Calviniſts, and therefore that this Article muſt neceſſarily have been *intended* to convey Calviniſtic doctrine; ſo has it converſely been argued, *that the Article itſelf* is manifeſtly Calviniſtic, and therefore it muſt be inferred, that the Compilers of it were of that perſuaſion. That the antecedent in the former ſyllogiſm is unfounded, Dr. Wincheſter's Diſſertation affords irrefragable proofs:—that the antecedent in the latter is equally untenable, we truſt the preſent publication will abundantly evince.

With reſpect to the points themſelves, of which this Article treats, it muſt be confeſſed, that Election and Predeſtination are doctrines, which ſeem not to have been ever deſigned as ſubjects of curious inveſtigation; ſince they relate to thoſe "ſecret things which belong unto the Lord our God," and which have not been ſo explicitly "revealed to us," as to warrant any attempt on our part, to "find them out to perfection." Well, therefore, would it be, if ſome

of

of the confident diſputers on theſe points, would take a leſſon from the venerable and learned Biſhop Andrews; who, when deſired by Archbiſhop Whitgift, to deliver his ſentiments on the Lambeth Articles drawn up by Whitaker, would fain have declined the taſk; but, conceiving that his duty to the Archbiſhop forbad him to be ſilent, thus modeſtly, and even fearfully, introduced his opinion:—"Ego certè, ingenuè fateor, ſequutus ſum *Auguſtini* conſilium. *Myſteria* hæc, quæ aperire non poſſum, clauſa miratus ſum; et proinde, per hos ſexdecim annos, ex quo *Preſbyter* ſum factus, me neque publicè, neque privatim, vel diſputâſſe de eis, vel pro *concione* tractâſſe. Etiam nunc quoque malle de eis audire, quam dicere. Et quidem cum *lubricus* locus ſit, et habeat utrinque periculoſa *præcipitia*; cumque loci *Paulini* (unde fere eruitur) inter δυσνοητα illa (de quibus *Petrus*) ſemper ſint habiti; cumque nec multi in *Clero* ſint, qui ea *dextrè* expedire, et perpauci in *Populo*, qui idonei illius auditores eſſe poſſint; ſuaderem, ſi fieri poſſit, ut indiceretur utrinque ſilentium; nec ita paſſim et *crudè* proponerentur à quibuſque, ut aſſolet. Certè multo magis expedire arbitror, ut doceatur populus noſter ſalutem ſuam quærere in manifeſtis vitæ ſanctæ et fideliter inſtitutæ,

"quod

" (quod et Petrus ſuadet) quam in *occultis*
" Conſilii divini: cujus curioſa nimis inſpectio
" *vertigines* et *ſcotomota* generare poteſt et ſolet,
" ædificationem certè in *anguſtis* ingeniis vix
" ſolet *."

Never-

* " I in truth ingenuouſly confeſs, that I have followed St. Auſtin's advice:—Such myſteries as I cannot unfold, to admire them as they are concealed. And therefore for theſe ſixteen years, ever ſince I was made a Prieſt, I have neither publickly nor privately diſputed about them, or meddled with them in my Sermons: And even now I had much rather hear than ſpeak of them myſelf. And, indeed, ſince the place itſelf is doubtful, and has on both ſides dangerous precipices: Since ſome of the Texts of St. *Paul* (from whence commonly theſe opinions are drawn) are to be reckoned (as St. *Peter* obſerves) amongſt the Δυσνόητα, *Things hard to be underſtood:* And ſince there are not many amongſt the Clergy, who are able to manage ſuch matters with that nicety and dexterity as they ought, and few among the people, that are fit and proper hearers of ſuch things, I ſhould adviſe (if it were poſſible) that nothing might be ſaid on either ſide about it; that this diſpute might not every where be ſo raſhly and unſkilfully managed, as it is wont to be. It would be to much better purpoſe to teach our people plainly the way to Salvation, in things manifeſtly relating to a holy and a well governed life, than to trouble their heads with the ſecrets of Providence, *and the hidden things of God;* whereas an over-curious enquiry into theſe things does but turn people's heads, and make them break out into enthuſiaſtick frenſies, and ſcarce ever tend to the edification of ſtrait and narrow diſpoſitions."

—See

Nevertheleſs, as they who moſt vehemently contend for the Calviniſtic interpretation of our Articles, will hardly acknowledge any to be *Chriſtians*, who do not adopt their ſentiments, it ſeems highly important to ſhew, that, according to their ſimpleſt and moſt obvious conſtruction, they evidently convey a very different ſenſe; a ſenſe, more reconcileable with the general tenor of Scripture, and with the public documents of our Church, than that which is ſo pertinaciouſly maintained on the other ſide. To prove that thoſe who differ, even widely, from the advocates of the Calviniſtic ſcheme, may yet be no leſs firm believers in the *peculiar* doctrines of the Goſpel, nor leſs zealous in contending for it's eſſential truths; is to vindicate, it is conceived, a great majority of the Engliſh Clergy, from the unwarrantable aſperſions continually caſt upon them, in the preſent day, for their ſuppoſed defection from the Goſpel. With this view, the following Extracts are publiſhed; and ſhould they induce any, into whoſe hands the Treatiſe, from which they are taken, may happen to fall, to give the *whole* of that Treatiſe, (and alſo the other valuable pieces, which, in the

—See Articuli Lambethani, p. 21. Lond. 1671, and Ellis's Defence of the Thirty Nine Articles, with the Lambeth Articles annexed, p. 111. Lond. 1700.

Cam-

Cambridge Edition, accompany it,) an attentive perusal, we may venture to say, that they will find their labour well bestowed, and amply rewarded.

Concerning the Author of this work, little (we are sorry to say) is known. In the preface to the Cambridge Edition, we are informed, that he was admitted Fellow of Sidney-Suffex College in the year 1600; that he was, in that same year, ordained both Deacon and Priest, by John, the Suffragan Bishop of Colchester; and that he was presented in the year 1605, to the Rectory of Debden in Suffolk, in which he continued about twenty-five years. This account is confirmed, as to it's principal points, by the following documents; which the present Editors have received through the most authentic channels of information, and for which they beg leave to return their best acknowledgments.

The following Memorandum is drawn up from the Archives of Sidney College.

" The name of JOHN PLAYFER does not ap-
" pear to be entered in the Register of Admis-
" sions, but it is to be found in the list of Fellows
" in the Master's possession; in which he is said
" to be—Ex F. S. R. de Depden Com: Suff:—
" i. e.

" i. e. Fellow on the Foundation of Mr. Smith,
" and Rector of Depden; to which deſcription
" there is the following addition in a different
" hand, Autor Libri docti et acuti cui nomen
" *Appello Evangelium.* Mr. Leonard Smith,
" the Founder of the Fellowſhip, directed by
" his Will that William Durant, M. A. and
" then of the College, be firſt admitted to it,
" and after him JOHN PLAIFORD, if he ſhall be
" found fit. In the Audit Book, J. P. appears
" to have received a Stipend, as Fellow, for the
" firſt time, in the year 1602; which ſhews that
" he muſt then have been a Maſter of Arts, no
" Fellow of Sidney being allowed any emolu-
" ment till he has completed that degree. It
" ſhews alſo, that he muſt originally have been
" a member of ſome other College, no admiſſions
" into Sidney having taken place before 1598."

The ſubſequent extracts are taken from the Regiſter of Depden Church.

" JOHANNES PLAYFERT clericus ſepultus fuit
" viceſimo quinto Aprilis, 1632."

" Margareta, uxor Thomæ Silveſter, et prius
" relicta reverendiſſimi viri JOHANNIS PLAY-
" FERT quondam Rectoris Eccleſiæ paſtoralis
" de Depden, placidè obdormuit in Domino,
" decimo

" decimo octavo die Novembris, anno ætatis " ſuæ ſeptuageſimo ſexto, ſepulta viceſimo die " menſis ejuſdem, 1666."

Reſpecting the JERMYN family, by whom it appears that Plaifere was preſented to the Rectory of Depden, the following inſcription is taken from a monument in Depden Church:—" Here " underneath lieth buried the boddy of the " Lady Anne Jermin Widdowe, daughter of Sir " Robert Jermyn of Halſted in the Countie of " Suffolk, Knight, and Anne his wife, which " Anne was firſt married to George Maldengere " of Smalldridge, in the ſaide Countie Eſquier, " and after married to Sir Thomas Jermyn of " Ruſhbrooke, in the ſaid Countie, Knight, " and died the ninth day of June in the year of " our Lord God 1572."—But moſt of the family of Jermyns, it appears, were buried at Hawſtead, near Bury.

From Fuller's Hiſtory of Cambridge, page 154, it appears, that James Montague, Biſhop of Bath and Wells, and afterwards of Wincheſter, was the firſt Maſter of Sydney College, at the time when Plaifere was choſen Fellow; and that Archbiſhop Bramhall, Thomas Gataker, and other learned men, were alſo Fellows of the

ſame College, about the ſame time. Fuller himſelf was choſen Fellow not long after.

Our Author is ſuppoſed to have been nearly related to Dr. Thomas Plaiſere, who was the Lady Margaret's Profeſſor of Divinity in Cambridge till the year 1609, a celebrated Preacher in his time, and ſeveral of whoſe Sermons were printed between the years 1616 and 1621. It does not appear that John Plaiſere was the Author of any other works, than that which is here, in part, reprinted.

The Extracts here publiſhed are taken from the original Edition in 1653. Occaſionally, however, are inſerted in the body of the work, the tranſlations given in the Cambridge Edition of the Greek and Latin quotations; and the quotations themſelves are transferred from the text to the foot of the page. Wherever any of the interpolations, or alterations, of the Cambridge Edition are admitted, (which, in ſome very few inſtances, it has been thought expedient, for the ſake of perſpicuity, to adopt) they are incloſed in brackets, to diſtinguiſh them from the genuine text of the Author. The preſent Editors have, indeed, been anxious to reſtore the original as faithfully as poſſible; not venturing to alter, however ſlightly, one or two

paſſages which they might perhaps wiſh to have ſeen ſomewhat differently expreſſed, nor attempting any corrections of the Author's ſtyle, which is, in general, good; but confining themſelves almoſt excluſively to occaſional emendations in the Orthography. The ſound learning and laborious inveſtigation which the Tract exhibits, as well as the great candour and diſpaſſionate judgment by which it is diſtinguiſhed, recommend it to ſerious attention: and although the Editors mean not to pledge themſelves for the ſtrict propriety of every phraſe or expreſſion which may occur, yet they are perſuaded that the general argument will be found ſolid and incontrovertible, and well adapted to anſwer the purpoſe for which it is revived, that of clearing an important article of our Church from a great deal of miſrepreſentation and abuſe.

March 6th, 1806.

APPELLO EVANGELIUM,

FOR

THE TRUE DOCTRINE OF THE DIVINE PREDESTINATION, CONCORDED WITH THE ORTHODOX DOCTRINE OF GOD'S FREE-GRACE, AND MAN'S FREE-WILL.

PART I.

THE INTRODUCTION OR PREFACE.

THE principal end of that labour which brought forth this work was, by the help of God, and through his bleſſing, to get ſome ſatisfaction to myſelf in the great queſtion of this age, *De ordine et modo prædeſtinationis in mente divina ſecundum noſtrum intelligendi modum;* concerning the *Order* and *Manner* of *Divine Predeſtination,* conceived in the mind of the only wiſe God, after the manner of our underſtanding, as the Holy Scriptures have revealed it unto us.

Therefore about this *Order* I have ſearched out, and here ſet down, the ſeveral opinions of Note and Eſtimation, which are *five* in number; theſe I have examined and compared together. In four of the five I do find and acknowledge ſome parts and pieces of truth, (for no probable Doctrine can ſubſiſt all of falſehoods) but mingled with ſuch defects, as they ſeem to me to lead both into error in faith, and into corruption of Manners, if Men ſhould live after them; and that not by abuſe only, (as may be pretended,) but by juſt and neceſſary conſequence, and by the nature of the very principles.

But in the *fifth Opinion*, (I will not ſay there ſhineth forth the Perfection of the full and naked truth; for ſince we ſee now* *through a Glaſs Darkly*, if I ſhould ſay† *that we have diſcovered truth beyond poſſibility of miſtake, nothing could bewray a greater want of Judgment, than ſuch an arrogant preſumption of certainty*) yet this I ſay, there ſeemeth to appear a certain way of apprehending and of teaching this high myſtery, ſuch as is far more free from occaſion of error, either in faith, or in life, that may ariſe

* *Per ſpeculum, in ænigmate.*

† *Nullam veritatem videmus, nihil eſſet cæcius ijſa arrogantia viſionis. Aug.* Epiſt. 150.

as

as from itſelf, than in any other form of the four formerly delivered.

In the *Explication* whereof, to make it *intelligible*, it being (though not new in itſelf) but little opened or touched, in Engliſh or popular Books or Sermons, (unleſs it be to carp at the leaves of ſome boughs or branches thereof) and in the *Confirmation* thereof to make it *demonſtrable* by the Holy Scripture, and to ſhew it *conſonant* to other heads of Divinity declared, I have here taken much more pains, and am far more large, than in the demoliſhing and confuting of the different, and, (as I take them) defective Opinions; partly, becauſe that is already done to my hand, in the domeſtick conflicts of the defenders of the four Opinions in their Books, written in the Elenctique, and the invective vein, more to the breach of the peace of the Church, than to the edifying of the truth in love: and partly, becauſe as it is an harder, ſo it is a nobler thing to build than to deſtroy, to abet and to maintain a lovely truth tending to peace, both inward in the Conſcience, and outward in the Church, rather than to labour to hew down thoſe falſhoods which fall of themſelves, the more curiouſly they are poliſhed and wrought upon by their zealous lovers.

Yet becauſe our *great Maſter of methods* (Ariſtot. Ethic. l. 7. c. 14.) teacheth us, that it is not enough, *to deliver the truth*, unleſs we do ſhew alſo *the cauſe why that is falſe which is falſe*; and that this doth much avail *to win credit* to our own Opinion; therefore I give in brief ſome reaſons for my diſlike of any opinion which I reject, in their ſeveral and proper places; and then proceed to my chiefeſt care, and hardeſt Taſk.

In which weighty work, (*quoniam conamur tenues grandia*) I ſtill do moſt humbly pray the Spirit of Truth, to lead me into all Truth, that is according to Godlineſs *; *not deſiring to amuſe myſelf with bare ſpeculations, but if poſſible to make ſuch diſcoveries as may be ſerviceable in the promoting true and active piety:* not approving their ſaying, that tell us, one doctrine is for Schools where truth is tryed, and another for the Pulpit where piety is perſuaded. Never am I perſuaded where Exhortations ſound contrary to doctrine forelaid, nor where the Pulpit differs from the Chair.

* *Cupimus enim inveſtigare quid verum ſit, neque id ſolum, ſed quod cum veritate Pietatem quoque præterea erga deum habeat conjunctam.* *Sadolet.* in Rom. 8.

Now

Now if this work had been intended for the Publick, it had been beſt to have ſuppreſſed and concealed all names of the Authors of opinions*; *that none might be prejudiced againſt truth through reſpect to any contrary authority*: knowing it is as true in our age, as it was in † St. *Hilary's, that the greater part of Chriſtians are either ſtiff or variable in their Tenets, according as they find ſome famous or favourite Author to have been for or againſt them.* But this was not written to *the Many*, but to ſuch as thoſe whom the Sacred Penman terms *more noble*, who will themſelves, and allow me alſo *to ſearch the Scriptures, whether things be ſo* as Doctors ſay; and will not be offended, ‡*if I am unwilling implicitly to follow the authority of any, but endeavour to collect the ſcattered rays of truth and probability, wherever I find them,* and from any of them to APPEAL TO THE GOSPEL.

For the ſecond end and purpoſe of this writing, eſpecially in this book form, was to give ſatisfaction to ſome of my learned and loving Friends, to whom I might communicate it: who having

* *Ut nullus emulatione aliqua a veritatis ſequela retrahatur.* Cajetan *Summula.*

† *Quanto plures ſunt in Eccleſia qui authoritate nominum in ſententia teneantur, aut ad ſententiam tranſferantur?* Epiſt. ad *Aug.*

‡ *Authorem neminem unum ſequar, ſed ut quemque veriſſimum in quaque parte arbitrabor.* Plin. *Proœm.* l. 3.

heard either of my Studies in theſe controverſies, or of my opinions, and perhaps not throughly apprehending them, may have conceived worſe of me and them, than either there is cauſe, or than I ought to ſuffer them long to bear in their minds.

For as concerning my ſtudies, I may be deemed to have aimed at *knowledge too wonderful for me*, ſeeing it is true that Saint Jerom ſaith, Grandes materias ingenia parva non ſuſtinent: and that I have approached too near to majeſty, in ſearching into Myſteries above human Capacity; as de ordine et modo prædeſtinationis in mente divinâ et concordiâ gratiæ et liberi arbitrii cum prædeſtinatione, *concerning the Order and Manner of Predeſtination, conceived in the mind of the only wiſe God, and the reconcileableneſs of the doctrines of Grace and Free-will with that of Predeſtination.* But theſe Papers I hope, will make it manifeſt;

Firſt. That I leave things unſearchable unſearched, and ſtand with the Apoſtle, in the ſelf-ſame place that he did, admiring and adoring *the depth of the riches, and wiſdom, and knowledge of God;* I ſay in the ſelf-ſame place, or the like, not to cloak iniquity or abſurdity imputed to the divine Majeſty by, *O the depth* &c!

Secondly,

Secondly, That I ſearch not at all into any thing by mere natural light, and human reaſon, which to do in theſe things were a preſumption deſerving precipitation, but by the light of Divine revelation in God's holy word; and therefore I have ſet for my title, APPELLO EVANGELIUM, AN APPEAL TO THE GOSPEL, which is the opening of God's counſel, ſo far as he is pleaſed to communicate to us.

And *Thirdly*, This I do not only by appealing to thoſe texts that directly and immediately ſpeak of our Predeſtination and Election, which may ſeem hard and obſcure; but alſo to the openeſt and commoneſt places that are fundamental principles of Chriſtianity, and the Grounds of Catechiſm; which ordinary Capacities, (and not great wits alone) are able to underſtand: and by which the fewer and harder Texts are to be enlightened and interpreted, and not contrarily.

* *Irenæus* hath a right ſaying, that *they muſt put a very forced and wrong ſenſe on many things, who will not rightly underſtand ſome one;* which hath happened to many in our age. That *one*

* *Multa malè interpretari coguntur, qui Unum rectè intelligere non volunt.* Lib. 5.

thing which they will not rightly underſtand is, * *the univerſal promiſe of Grace and Acceptance, made in the Goſpel to all Men, through Chriſt the redeemer of all,* which our Church profeſſeth in her *Articles*, and in her *Catechiſm*; which *one promiſe* is the ground of all the concluſions here maintained. So that my Studies have not been about ſome curious and ſuperfluous queſtions, ſeparable from the body of Divinity, and which might well have been ſpared; but about the moſt eſſential parts, and Articles of that Body, and of their mutual coherence and connexion: The induſtrious ſearch and examination whereof is ſo neceſſary and worthy a thing, as I can hardly hold him worthy the name of a Divine, that hath not laboured therein.

And as my Opinions which, unexamined, may be preſumed to be nothing elſe but either antient or late condemned hereſies, (which imputation or very ſuppoſition, no good man ought to bear with ſilence) theſe leaves do undertake to ſhew, that the apprehenſions expreſſed in it, are none of thoſe old condemned Hereſies, nor of thoſe late rejected Heterodoxies; BUT THE VERY DOCTRINE OF THE ANTIENT FATHERS OF THE

* *Promiſſum Evangelicum univerſale, in Chriſto redemptore univerſali.*

CHURCH,

CHURCH, BUILDED UPON THE SENSE AND LETTER OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES, AND CONSONANT TO THE PUBLICK ESTABLISHED DOCTRINE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, CONTAINED IN THE BOOKS OF ARTICLES, COMMON PRAYER, AND HOMILIES, which if I ſhall make good by clear and undeniable evidence, then I hope my good Friends will hold me excuſed, and cleared of any ſuch crime as Hereſie, or Semi-hereſie, or Novelty: and will take me for a true and ſound Member of the Church of *England*, both in Doctrine and in Diſcipline: from both which, I fear, there hath been made by many in this Church too great a defection and departure, ſince the daies of King *Edward* the Sixth, when they were firſt eſtabliſhed; and ſince the Primitive years of the happy Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, wherein they were ratifyed and ſtrengthened with a ſecond, and oft-renewed Judgment. But the Examination and Tryal of all this, I commit and ſubmit to my ingenuous and loving Friends, and them and their Studies to the Goodneſs and Grace of God our Father.

CHAP.

CHAP. I.

THE FIRST OPINION.

THE first Opinion concerning the Order of divine Predeſtination, and having theſe defenders, *Beza*, *Piſcator*, *Whitaker*, *Perkins*, and other holy and learned men, is this:

1. *That God from all Eternity decreed to create a certain number of Men.*

2. *That of this number he Predeſtinated ſome to everlaſting Life; and other ſome he reprobated to eternal Death.*

3. *That in this Act he reſpected nothing more than his own Dominion, and the Pleaſure of his own Will.*

4. *That to bring Men to theſe ends, he decreed to permit Sin to enter in upon all Men, that the reprobate might be condemned for Sin; and that he*

he decreed to ſend his Son to recover out of Sin his Elect, fallen together with the reprobate.

This opinion is rejected by many Proteſtant Divines, as by the Reverend Divines of our Church that were at the Synod at *Dort*, by *Peter Moulin*, *Robert** Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, and others: it is deteſted by the *Papiſts* and *Lutherans*; it was that which *Arminius*, and his followers chiefly oppoſed in the low Countries. It is charged,

With making God the Author of Sin.

With reprobating Men before they were Evil.

With Electing Men not in Chriſt, who is ſent, according to this Opinion, to recover out of Sin thoſe that were Elected, before they were conſidered as Sinners.

This is that *irreſpective decree* which † Mr. *Mountague* diſliketh, becauſe in it there is no reſpect had to any thing fore-known, not ſo much as the fall of Man, much leſs Chriſt, or

* Abbot.

† See his *Appello Cæſarem*, Pag. 49. 54 *&c.* He was afterwards Biſhop of *Chicheſter*.

Faith,

Faith, giving to God no fore-knowledge, or no uſe of it at all, in this Act of his which the Scripture calls *Predeſtination.*

Yet this Opinion doth well admoniſh us to remember the *Dominion*, and Sovereign Power, and Will of God, which muſt be ſeen and acknowledged in his Predeſtinating of Men, according to that of the Apoſtle, *Hath not the Potter power over the Clay?* and, *He hath mercy on whom he will:* (Rom. ix. 21. Rom. ix. 15.) which we will be mindful of in the fifth Opinion.

Under this Opinion are to be placed the nine aſſertions concluded at *Lambeth*; which have been often required to be put into our book of Articles, but yet could it never be obtained. It is requiſite therefore to ſet them down, becauſe they are not vulgarly known, and to examine them what they mean, and ſee how far they are Orthodox, or agreeing to our Articles. And for their ſakes that underſtand not the Latin Tongue, I will render them in Engliſh.

* *Articles approved by the right Reverend*

* For a full account of theſe Articles ſee an Appendix to Dr. *Ellis's* Expoſ. of the 39 Articles, or rather the very learned and diligent Mr. *Strype*'s Life of Archbiſhop *Whitgift*, B. 4. c. 17, 18.

Lords,

Lords, John *Lord Archbiſhop of* Canterbury *and* Richard *Lord Biſhop of* London, *and other Divines, at* Lambeth, the 20th of November, in the year 1595.

1. *God from Eternity Predeſtinated ſome Men to Life, and ſome he reprobated unto Death.*

2. *The moving or efficient cauſe of Predeſtination to Life, is not the foreſight of Faith, or of Perſeverance, or of good Works, or of any thing which may be in the perſons Predeſtinated, but only the Will of God's good pleaſure.*

3. *Of the Predeſtinate there is a predefined and certain number, which can neither be increaſed, nor diminiſhed.*

4. *They which are not Predeſtinated unto Salvation, ſhall neceſſarily be condemned for their Sins.*

5. *True, lively, juſtifying Faith, and the ſanctifying Spirit of God, is not extinguiſhed, doth not fall out, doth not vaniſh in the Elect, either finally, or totally.*

6. *A Man truly believing, that is, endued with juſtifying Faith, is certain, by or with full perſuaſion*

perſuaſion of Faith, of the forgiveneſs of his Sins, and of his everlaſting Salvation by Chriſt.

7. *Saving Grace is not given, is not communicated, is not granted to all Men, whereby they may be ſaved, if they will.*

8. *No Man can come to Chriſt, unleſs it be given unto him, and unleſs the Father draw him; and all Men are not drawn of the Father, that they come unto the Son.*

9. *It is not put in the free Choice, and Power of every Man, to be ſaved.*

Theſe be the nine Aſſertions concluded at *Lambeth*, at the inſtance of Dr. *Whitaker* againſt * three propoſitions delivered at *Cambridge* by *Peter Baro* the Frenchman, Profeſſor of Divinity in the Chair erected by the *Lady Margaret*.

Four of theſe nine, which concern the Doctrine of Predeſtination, are here only conſidered; the other five we ſhall ſpeak of in their proper place, in the third part of this Book.

* 1. De Prædeſt. & Reprobat. 2. De Amiſſione Gratiæ. 3. De Certitud. & ſecuritate Salutis. *Whit.* cont. ult. Pag. 4.

For the words of theſe four, they are ſo compoſed, as they comprehend moſt certain Truths, but applicable as well to the fifth Opinion, hereafter to be propounded, as to any other. But becauſe all Men will fetch the interpretation of them from Dr. *Whitaker*, the chief compoſer, his underſtanding of them muſt be taken for their meaning. And how he underſtood the Doctrine of Predeſtination doth appear in his laſt *conc. ad clerum*, October 9, before this 20th of November, wherein he argueth againſt St. *Auguſtine*, That Original ſin was not the cauſe of Reprobation, ſeeing it is remitted to many reprobates, according to St. *Auguſtine's* doctrine. He expoundeth, Rom. ix. 21. *de maſſâ incorrupta*, [of the *Lump* or *Maſs* of Mankind, not conſidered *as fallen*, or *tainted with Original Sin*;] * and nameth *Bucer* as concurring with him. He appealeth to our Confeſſion in the ſeventeenth Article, which he is perſuaded delivers the ſame Doctrine that he did; not only becauſe thoſe Articles were compoſed by the diſciples of *Martyr* and *Bucer*, as he ſaith, but by the words themſelves. How other Biſhops and Profeſſors ſince have underſtood that Article, and what hand *Martyr* and *Bucer* had in our Articles, ſhall be ſeen in the next Opinion.

* Cambridge Edition.

For

For these nine assertions, we know, Dr. *Whitaker* dying at his return from his journey, were not received with such accord, but that the two following Professors, J. *Overall*, D. D. and J. *Richardson*, D. D. dissented from them; and when the life of Dr. *Whitaker* was written by a learned Friend of his, who would have inserted these nine assertions, they were by Authority suppressed; a sign that, though much were imputed and yielded to the excellent Judgment of Dr. *Whitaker* of worthy Memory, yet all in Authority then were not of his mind in this matter: whom yet they would not offend, or lose, as the times then were. Neither, in the first of King *James*, in the conference at *Hampton* Court,* when these nine assertions, *Orthodoxal*, (as Dr. *Reynolds* termed them,) were sued for to be inserted into the Book of Articles, was this request obtained; but that motion quenched by the speeches, first, of the Bishop of *London*, who had been at the concluding of those Assertions at *Lambeth*; and, secondly, of the Dean of St. *Paul's*, Dr. Overall, who had been a party in these Controversies. And for the Orthodoxy of these Assertions in Dr. *Whitaker*'s sense; Dr. *Barlow*, the relater of this conference, puts it

* See Churchman's Remembrancer, No. IV. Hampton Court Conference, pp. 30 et seq.

upon

upon Dr. *Reynolds* terming them ſo, not upon his own or his Maſters opinion, he having been well acquainted with the carriage of that buſineſs at *Lambeth*, as then Chaplain to the Arch-biſhop in his houſe. And his relation tells us, the nine Aſſertions were ſent to the Univerſity, for the appeaſing of thoſe quarrels that were riſen in *Cambridge* about certain points of Divinity. If for the appeaſing of quarrels, it was wiſdom ſo to pen them, as they might ſatisfy and unite all ſides with common and general Truth. As the *firſt* Aſſertion doth, ſaying,

1. *That God hath Predeſtinated*, &c. which is moſt true, but it ſaith nothing *concerning the Order and Manner*, &c. which is now the Queſtion, and was then.

The *ſecond* ſpeaks true of the moving and efficient Cauſe [of Predeſtination,] both in what it denies, and what it affirms; but the queſtion is not concerning the Cauſe, but the Object of it: whether it be *Man*, or *Man conſidered as fallen*, or *Man with reſpect to his repentance, or ſtubbornneſs in Sin*, nothing in Man is the cauſe of his Election.

The *third* of the number is very true, but

 founded

founded on the infallibility of God's foreknowledge, as well as the immutability of his Will.

The *fourth* is the moſt ambiguous aſſertion; for if it ſuppoſe Non-predeſtination to be the cauſe of the neceſſity of condemnation for Sin, it putteth *Non cauſam pro cauſa;* but if it ſuppoſe Non-predeſtination as a mere negative of ſuch an act of God, and ſuppoſe Sin committed, and not repented of, there is cauſe enough for the Juſtice of God to condemn him that hath ſinned, and uſed no remedy.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

THE SECOND OPINION.

THE ſecond Opinion, of the Order of Predeſtination, having theſe Defenders, The Synod at Dort, P. Moulin, Doctor Abbot B. of Saliſbury, Doctor Carleton B. of Chicheſter; many Papiſts, as Bellarmine, Cajetan, and the Dominicans, and of which many do ſay that Saint Auſtin was the firſt author, is this;

1. *That God from all Eternity decreed to create Mankind holy, and good.*

2. *That he fore-ſaw Man, being tempted by Satan, would fall into Sin, if God did not hinder it; he decreed not to hinder.*

3. *That out of Mankind, ſeen fallen into Sin and Miſery, he choſe a certain number to raiſe to righteouſneſs, and to Eternal Life; and rejected the reſt, leaving them in their Sins.*

4. *That for theſe his choſen, he decreed to ſend his Son to redeem them, and* HIS SPIRIT TO CALL THEM, *and ſanctify them; the reſt he decreed to forſake, leaving them to Satan and themſelves, and to puniſh them for their Sins.*

This opinion is miſliked by the defenders of the former, and of the following Opinions alſo.

1. Becauſe to defend the Juſtice of God, it ſuppoſeth Mankind corrupted before any Election or Reprobation was made, which ſeemeth needleſs; becauſe* [ſay they,] there are Elect and Reprobate Angels without, or before any Corruption or Fall.

2. Becauſe it ſuppoſeth Original Sin the cauſe of Reprobation, which Sin yet is remitted in Baptiſm to many reprobates.

3. Becauſe with the former Opinion it teacheth Chriſt to be ſent only to the Elect, and the Word and Spirit only to call them; whereby the Reprobate are but more oppreſſed, being called to embrace Salvation offered, which they cannot do,

* *Cacodæmones non fuêre in Maſſa, & tamen reprobati; Chriſtus non fuit in Maſſa, & tamen ut homo Eligitur.* Prideaux I. *Lect.*

and

and yet for refuſal thereof they are more deeply condemned.

So theſe two Opinions offend much againſt God's Goodneſs and Truth; yet this ſecond well acknowledgeth, that God decreed ſomething upon his foreknowledge what Man would do, being permitted: that this foreknowledge is ſo certain, that upon it God builded his greateſt Counſels of the Myſtery of the Goſpel; as upon the foreknowledge of *Adam's* fall, the Decree to ſend Chriſt.

Secondly, It provideth well for the Juſtice of God on Infants dying, who have no other deſert of Death but Original Sin; from which, as to the pain of Eternal Death, God's mercy delivereth whom he pleaſeth by Baptiſm, or the vow thereof in the Holy Church; "parvulorum autem cauſam ad exemplum majorum non patiuntur afferri," ſays Hilary of the Maſſilienſes, in which they were right: for *the Election or Reprobation which is of Infants that live not to years of Diſcretion, is no neceſſary pattern for the Election or Reprobation of them that live into a further age.*

The defenders of this Opinion claim our ſeventeenth Article as for them, and ſurely better may

they do it than they of the former; for thoſe words, *to deliver from curſe and damnation, thoſe whom he hath choſen,* import a curſe and damnation fallen into, by thoſe who are delivered. But how thoſe words, *choſen in Chriſt,* and *the Godly conſideration of Predeſtination and our Election in Chriſt,* and thoſe words, *we muſt receive God's promiſes in ſuch wiſe, as they be generally ſet forth unto us in Holy Scriptures:* how theſe will ſtand with a Decree of Election, made before Chriſt be thought on, otherwiſe than as the means to bring the Elect to Salvation, [I ſee not,] (for the Article makes theſe two things, to *chooſe ſome in Chriſt out of Mankind, and to bring them by Chriſt unto Everlaſting Salvation.*) [Nor can I conceive] how a general promiſe will ſtand with a particular purpoſe, meaning or intending the promiſe but to ſome few. Let them conſider how they can make it good by their Doctrine, and I will conſider how I can make that good which the Article ſaith, by the Doctrine of the fifth Opinion.

As to the appeal to *Bucer* and P. *Martyr,* for the ſenſe of our Articles, uſed by Dr. *Whitaker* in his time, and of late by Dr. *Carleton* Biſhop of *Chicheſter,* the anſwer is full,

1. That *Bucer* is not of the ſame Opinion with

with *Martyr*, nor *Carleton* with *Whitaker*, in the apprehenſion of the order of Predeſtination.

2. That it is not true, that the diſciples of *P. Martyr* and *Bucer* compoſed our Articles; for theſe Articles on which there is now queſtion, were the ſame under King *Edward* the ſixth, and Queen *Elizabeth*; * but the Biſhops and Divines under King *Edward* the ſixth had compoſed the Articles and Liturgy before *P. Martyr*, and

* The Common Service firſt, and afterwards the reſt of the Liturgy, was finiſhed at *Windſor*, by our own Divines, in the Summer of 1548. *Peter Martyr* came into *England* about the end of November, when the Liturgy had been already approved by the King and Council; and a Bill for its Eſtabliſhment came into Parliament the 9th of December, and was agreed on the 15th of January following. Archbiſhop *Cranmer's* Letter, inviting *Bucer* into England, is dated the 2d of October 1548, but it is plain, from the repetition of that invitation in a Letter of *Peter Alexander's* to him, that he was not arrived hither on the 24th of March 1549. *Bucer* indeed afterwards reviewed and corrected the *Liturgy*, but the alterations he made nothing concern theſe diſputes. As for the Articles, though the ſuppoſed Compoſers of them were too far advanced in Age and Learning to be the diſciples of *Peter Martyr* and M. *Bucer*, yet it is a miſtake to ſay they were compoſed before their arrival here, ſince that was not done till 1551, after *Bucer's* Death. Vid. *Burnet.* Hiſt. Reform. Part 2. B. 1. Pag. 27, 61. and B. 3. Pag. 166. *Heylin.* Hiſt. Refor. Pag. 65. *Buceri* Script. Angl. Pag. 191.

Martin Bucer came hither; as doth appear in Mr. *Fox's* Hiſtory. To *Bellarmine* objecting that *Bucer* and *Martyr* were the *Planters of the faith* profeſſed in England, the renowned Dr. * *Andrews* anſwereth, *Nevertheleſs, if we will ſpeak truth, theſe two men did not plant the (reformed) faith in England; but ſought to weed out ſome tares* (of ſuperſtition) *long ſince overſowed by you* (Papiſts.) *Although even thoſe tares themſelves before their coming hither, were for the moſt part condemned and rooted out: But theſe men entered upon others labours, and beſtowed their pains alſo here, that they might be helpful to them in Univerſity matters.*

3. Whoſoever were the chief compoſers of our articles, (of whom it is certain Archbiſhop *Cranmer* was one) they had more reſpect to the *Auguſtan Confeſſion*, than to any other, as appears by the very Identity of many of the Articles: and more familiarity with *Melanchon* and *Eraſ-*

* *Non tamen (ſi verum volumus) ſeminarunt duo illi fidem in Anglia. Zizania modò quædam, longo poſt intervallo, a veſtris ſuperſeminata eruncarunt: quanquam & illa ipſa Zizania, ante illorum huc adventum magna ex parte & indicata erant, & evulſa. Illi autem in Laborés aliorum intrarunt, &, ut Illis in re Academica modò ſuppetias ferrent, operam hic ſuam poſuerunt.* Ad Card. *Bellarm.* Apol. Reſp. Pag. 31.

mus,

mus, than any other Divines, ſingularly approving their Expoſitions of the Sacred Scriptures, and of the principal Articles of the Chriſtian Faith: inſomuch that they cauſed to be tranſlated into Engliſh, *Eraſmus's Paraphraſe on the Goſpels*, and enjoined them to be Studyed by Prieſts, and to lie ready in Churches for all Men to read, and as it were to drink in the Doctrine of the Scriptures according to *Eraſmus* his interpretation; whoſe writings which way they go in theſe Controverſies, all Men well know who have read them.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

THE THIRD OPINION.

THE third Opinion ſeems to be defended by the reverend and learned late Biſhop of Norwich, Doctor Overall, and Richard Thompſon his diligent auditor and familiar; as may be gathered out of the Biſhop's judgment *de quinque Articulis in Belgia controverſis*, concerning the five Articles controverted in Holland, and out of the conference at Hampton Court, and out of Thompſon's Diatribe de interciſione juſtitiæ, c. 4. And it is

1. *That God decreed to create Mankind good*, &c. as the ſecond Opinion ſaid.

2. *That he foreſaw the fall of Man*, &c. as in the ſame ſecond Opinion was ſaid.

3. *That he decreed to ſend his Son to die for the*

the World, and his Word to call, and to offer Salvation unto all Men, with a common and ſufficient Grace in the means to work faith in Men, if they be not wanting to themſelves.

4. *That out of God's foreknowledge of Man's infirmity, and that none would believe by this common Grace, he decreed to add a ſpecial Grace more effectual, and abundant, to whomſoever he pleaſed, choſen according to his own purpoſe and Grace, by which they ſhall not only be able to believe, but alſo actually believe.*

This Opinion, if I underſtand it aright, I have not found expreſly or ſtrictly examined by any Divine: Dr. * *Abbot*, in his Animadverſion upon *Thompſon's Diatribe*, ſuſpecteth *Arminianiſm* in it, and rejecteth it. But Dr. *Overall* doth clearly ſever it from the *Remonſtrants* Tenets, as you ſhall ſee by and by. I object it thus.

1. That common Grace, by which no one is ſaved, which is inferiour to the infirmity of Man, is not the Grace of the Goſpel, nay deſerves not the name of Grace, which never brought forth the effect Salvation.

* *Inſuavis quidem & gravis halitus Arminiani dogmatis.* cap. 4.

2. That

2. That ſuperabundant, ſpecial, effectual Grace, ſeems not to be the Grace of the Goſpel, being rejected of none to whom it is offered: for the Grace of the Goſpel, is ſuch as is received by ſome, and the ſelf-ſame rejected by other ſome; to ſome it is *in vain*, to others *not in vain*.

3. This Opinion, with the two former, ſeems to bring in a certain deſperation into the minds of Men, (as was of old objected to St. *Auguſtine*) ſeeing none can be ſaved but by that ſpecial and abundant Grace, which is given but to a few, out of the ſecret purpoſe of God; which whether God doth intend to give or no, the general promiſes of the Goſpel do not aſſure; ſeeing they found no more than a common Grace, which is ineffectual, by this Opinion.

But before I cenſure it farther, be it preſented unto you in the words of one of the moſt illuminate Doctors of our Age.

'* There were five Articles controverted in

* All this Quotation is in a fair *Lat.* MSS. in the Library of *Trinity Coll. Camb.* Z. 15, 20. and to the end of it is added an attempt to prove what is here advanced, as the Doctrine of our Church, from the *Articles*, *Liturgy* and *Homilies*. Perhaps the whole is a Prelection of Dr. *Overall*, when he was *Reg. Prof.* of *Divinity*.

' *Holland*;

' *Holland;* the Firſt, of *God's Predeſtination:* ' The Second, of *Chriſt's Death:* The Third, ' of *Freewill and Grace:* The Fourth, of the ' *Manner of the working of God's Grace:* The ' Fifth, of the *Perſeverance of Believers.* Touch- ' ing which the *Remonſtrants* or *Arminians*, and ' the *Contra-Remonſtrants* or *Puritans*, do main- ' tain contrary Opinions; the middle Way be- ' tween which, our Church (as I conceive) doth ' *much more* rightly hold.

ARTICLE I. *Of God's Predeſtination.*

' *Firſt*, the *Remonſtrants* make the General ' and Conditional Decree of Predeſtination to ' be upon condition of Believing, according to ' the general Goſpel-promiſe of Saving all Men, ' through Chriſt dying for them, if with a lively ' and perſevering Faith they ſhall believe in him, ' by the Word and Holy Ghoſt aſſiſting it. Se- ' condly, [they make] the ſpecial and abſo- ' lute Decree to be out of the fore-knowledge ' of Faith, touching the ſaving all ſuch parti- ' cular Men, whom God foreſaw would believe ' through Grace; and on the other ſide, con- ' demning of thoſe whom he foreſaw would con- ' tinue impenitent in Sin, and unbelievers. And ' this is the Opinion of the Antient Fathers be-

' fore

' fore St. *Auguſtine*, and of many after him, and
' of many *Papiſts*, *Lutherans*, and many others.

' *Secondly*, the *Contra-Remonſtrants*, ex-
' cluding the general and conditional Decree,
' make one only particular and abſolute Decree,
' touching the ſaving, and enduing with Faith
' and Perſeverance, ſome certain particular
' Men choſen out of Mankind through Chriſt
' dying for them alone, by the effectual or ir-
' reſiſtible Grace of the Holy Ghoſt, peculiar
' only to them; all others, by an abſolute De-
' cree, being rejected and condemned. And
' this is the Opinion of *Zuinglius*, *Calvin*, and
' the *Puritans;* but [*unknown to all the Antient*
' *Fathers even to Auſtin and his followers* *, and]
' is rejected by all *Papiſts*, *Lutherans*, and many
' others.

' *Thirdly*, Our Church, taking the middle
' way, joins the particular abſolute Decree (not
' out of foreknowledge of Man's Faith, or Free-
' will, but out of the purpoſe of God's Will and
' Grace) touching the freeing and ſaving thoſe
' whom God hath Elected in Chriſt, with the
' general and conditional Will, or the general
' Promiſe of the Goſpel; teaching that *God's*

* MSS. *Trin. Col. Cant.*

' *Promiſes*

' *Promiſes are ſo to be embraced as they are pro-*
' *poſed to us in the Holy Scriptures, and that*
' *Will of God is to be followed of us, which we*
' *have expreſly revealed in his word;* as namely,
' that *God gave his Son for the World,* or *for*
' *all Mankind,* that *Chriſt offered himſelf a Sa-*
' *crifice for all the ſins of the whole World;* that
' *Chriſt redeemed all Mankind;* that *Chriſt com-*
' *manded the Goſpel to be preached unto all;* that
' *God wills and commands all Men to hear Chriſt,*
' *and to believe in him; and in him offers Grace*
' *and Salvation unto all Men.* That this is the
' infallible Truth, in which there can be no
' falſhood; otherwiſe the Apoſtles, and other
' Miniſters of the Goſpel preaching the ſame,
' ſhould be falſe Witneſſes of God, and ſhould
' make him a lyar. And this Opinion agrees
' with the Judgment of St. *Auguſtine,* as he is
' expounded by *Proſper* and *Fulgentius:* and is
' the more common Doctrine of the Church
' after St. *Auguſtine.* And theſe two things do
' well ſtand together; God in the firſt place, to
' offer Salvation to all, if they will believe, and
' common Grace and ſufficient in the means
' ordained by God, if Men will not be want-
' ing to the Word of God, and his Holy
' Spirit. And then, in the ſecond place, God,
' that he might be helpful to human frailty, and
' man's ſalvation might be more certain, would

' add his ſpecial, more effectual and abundant
' Grace, to be communicated to whom he pleaſe,
' by which not only they are able to believe or
' obey, (if they pleaſe) but alſo actually do will,
believe, obey and perſevere, according to the
' Sentence of St. *Auſtin*, * *ſo God ordained the*
' *life of all Angels and Men, that therein he*
' *might firſt manifeſt how far Free-will could go;*
' *And then what the Benefit of his Grace, and*
' *the Judgment of Righteouſneſs could do.*

Article II. *Of Chriſt's Death.*

' In like manner of the Death of Chriſt for
' all, there are three Opinions.

' *The firſt*, that Chriſt dyed for all Men, and
' by his Death did redeem all mankind, in God's
' general and conditional purpoſe of giving Sal-
' vation, for Chriſt's ſake that dyed, to all, upon
' condition of Faith, depending on the free Co-
' operation of Men under Grace.

' *The ſecond*, contrary to the *firſt*, that Chriſt
' did not die for all, *&c.* nor did redeem all

* *Sic Deus ordinavit omnium Angelorum hominumque vitam, &c.—De correp. & grat.* cap. 10. Pag. 799. Octav.

' mankind,

' Mankind, &c. nor that God by any manner ' of means, or upon any condition, did *will*, or ' intend to give Salvation or Grace for Chriſt's ' ſake, to any other, ſave only the Elect, &c.

' *The third*, ſuppoſing Chriſt's Death for all ' Men, and God's purpoſe conditioned with the ' general Grace of the Goſpel-promiſes, adds ' the ſpecial intention of Faith, touching the ' applying the benefit of Chriſt's Death, by ' Grace more abounding, and effectual, abſo- ' lutely, certainly, and infallibly, only to the ' Elect, without any Prejudice, or any Dimi- ' nution of the Will, and Grace common and ' ſufficient.

ARTICLE III. *Of Free-will and Grace.*

' All agree that Free-will is not able to do ' any thing that is Good, without Grace pre- ' venting, preſent and ſubſequent; ſo that it ' holds the beginning, middle and end in Con- ' verſion, and Faith, and every good Work: ' yet they diſſent in this, that

' The *firſt Opinion* makes exciting Grace ſo ' to be joined with the word heard, and un- ' derſtood, and meditated upon, that in ſome

' degree it is common to all, who are willing to
' obey it.

' The *second* ſtrives to make Grace proper
' and peculiar only to the Elect, and will not
' confeſs it to be in any manner of way com-
' mon to all.

' The *third* conjoins both ſides, acknowledg-
' ing Grace ſo to be common, and ſufficient,
' being joined with the Word, as withall to pro-
' feſs, it is ſpecial and effectual to produce cer-
' tainly Salvation, being proper to thoſe, whom
' God out of his good Pleaſure hath graciouſly
' elected in Chriſt.

ARTICLE IV. *Of the Manner of the Working of God's Grace.*

' The *firſt* Opinion makes Grace ſo to work
' in Man, that it takes not away the Liberty of
' his Will, but preſerves it; ſo that a Man may
' by Grace ſo believe and obey, as that he may
' alſo by his Free-will reſiſt Grace.

' The *ſecond* makes the Works *of Grace* to
' be irreſiſtible, ſo as wherever it comes, it doth
' *immutably* incline and draw the Mind to aſſent
' and obey.

' The

'The *third* Opinion teacheth, Men may be 'ſo ſtirred up and moved by Grace, that they 'may both obey that Grace calling and moving, 'if they attend thereto, and alſo may, through 'their Free-wills, reſiſt God's Call and Motion, '[MSS. Trin. Coll. Cant.] but it adds further, 'that God, when he will, and to whom he will, 'doth give Grace ſo abundant, or powerful, or 'congruent, or ſome other way effectual, that 'although the *Will* in reſpect of its Liberty 'may reſiſt, yet it doth not reſiſt, but certainly 'and infallibly obey: and thus God deals with 'thoſe whom he hath Elected in Chriſt, ſo far 'forth as is neceſſary to their Salvation.'

ARTICLE V. *Of the Perſeverance of Believers.*

'The *firſt* Opinion maketh all Believers, to 'be ſo furniſhed with God's Grace, that they 'are able to perſevere, if they will be as care-'ful as they ſhould be; that the ſame Men alſo 'may poſſibly fall away from Faith and Grace, 'through Negligence and Security.

'The *ſecond* denies Believers, to be able ſo to 'fall away from Faith and God's Grace, as to 'become in the State of Damnation, or periſh; 'but ſuch as ſhall once truly believe, ſhall al-

' ways ſo perſevere in Faith and Grace, that at ' length they may all attain Salvation.

' The *third* with St. *Auguſtine*, makes be- ' lievers, through the infirmities of the Fleſh, ' and Temptations; to be able to depart from ' Faith and Grace, or likewiſe to fall away; but ' it adds, thoſe believers who are called accord- ' ing to purpoſe, and who are firmly rooted in ' a lively Faith, cannot either *totally* or *finally* ' fall away, or periſh; but by ſpecial and effec- ' tual Grace, ſo perſevere in a true lively Faith, ' that at length they may be brought to Eternal ' Life.'

By this we may underſtand, what Dr. *Overall's* mind was in the Conference at *Hampton Court* *. *Richard Thompſon* hath the like, for after he had ſpoken of Chriſt, given to redeem and reconcile all unto God, and of Aids and Means given whereby Men may be actually reconciled, he adds, ſed miſerum genus humanum ſi vel ſic a Deo relictum fuiſſet, &c. (De Interciſione Juſtitiæ. Pag. 19. Octav.) ' *But Miſerable had been Mankind,* ' *if even ſo they had been left of God, for great* ' *is the Wickedneſs of Man, and every imagina-*

* See Churchman's Remembrancer, No. IV. H. C. C. pp. 31, 32.

' *tion*

*' tion of his Heart is Evil continually. There-
' fore it muſt needs come to paſs, that either all
' of themſelves ſhould deſpiſe thoſe Riches of
' God's Goodneſs, or if any ſhould make uſe of
' them, yet a while after, they would loath them
' again, except the ſuperabundant Mercy of God
' had ſeparated ſome to Himſelf, to whom he had
' decreed from all Eternity, to afford an effectual
' Calling, and final Perſeverance in Grace taken
' according to his purpoſe; others being paſſed by,
' and left to the counſels of common Providence,
' whom in the End he would condemn for their
' Impenitence and Unbelief.*

You know now this Opinion; and the Author is to be commended for his Integrity, in opening the ſtate of theſe Queſtions, and for coming on thus far nearer to the Truth, than the former did; in acknowledging,

1. That Chriſt died for the Sins of the whole World.

2. That the Promiſe of the Goſpel is Univerſal.

3. That a Grace ſufficient is given, common to all that hear the Goſpel, to believe and obey it.

4. That God's foreknowledge is extended not only to the fall of the firſt Man, but the infirmity of all Men in particular; whereupon for ſome Men there was prepared by God, a more ſuperabundant and effectual Grace than for others.

5. In that it endeavoureth to accord the firſt part of our ſeventeenth Article, concerning an abſolute Predeſtination, with the latter part concerning the univerſal promiſes: the like good deſire appears in the Divines that were at *Dort*, in their joint ſuffrage, (de articulo 2°. Theſ. 3, 4, 5.) *concerning the ſecond Article.* But how congruous and happy this conjunction can be, of two extremes, into a third, or how poſſible it is to accord thoſe two parts of the Article, without ſome other ſuppoſition than hath yet been mentioned here, I cannot hope ever to ſee it demonſtrated. Nay I am perſuaded that theſe manifeſt truths ſounding in every part of the New Teſtament; that Chriſt is given a Redeemer Univerſal, that the promiſes of the Goſpel are general, that the Spirit of Truth and Power goes with them, in the preaching of them; are able, being rightly weighed, utterly to overthrow all manner of frames whatſoever may be imagined, of the order of the Divine predeſtination, which ſhall exclude the Divine preſcience,

preſcience, proper, prime and univerſal, ſuch as the fifth opinion will diſcover. For ſince the Goſpel preſuppoſeth, and acknowledgeth the fall of mankind, and all to be ſinners, and taketh its occaſion there-from; ſince it calleth all men to reconciliation with God; commands repentance and faith to all; promiſes forgiveneſs and life to *all that believe in the Redeemer*; threateneth wrath and death, to abide upon *all that believe not;* and declareth that God will *judge the World by Jeſus Chriſt*, and by the *Word of the Goſpel:* (Mark xvi. 15, 16. Acts xvii. 31. John xii. 48.) and ſince God will judge *in righteouſneſs*, man as a reaſonable creature of a free-will; the Goſpel, (I ſay) cannot admit a decree of predeſtination to life or death, that ſhall be made upon contemplation of the fall and ſin of man antecedent to the Goſpel, or before contemplation of the events or iſſues of the Goſpel preached to the world; which contemplation can be had, before all time, by no other power, but the divine fore-knowledge.

CHAP. IV.

THE FOURTH OPINION.

THE fourth Opinion is of *Melanchton, Hemingius,* and *the Lutherans* that follow the *Auguſtan Confeſſion* and *Formulam Concordiæ;* the *Remonſtrants,* or *Arminians,* and many *Papiſts,* &c.

1. *That God decreed to create man, to permit him to fall, and to ſend Chriſt to redeem the World,* &c. as in the third Opinion was ſaid.

2. *That he made a general conditional decree of Predeſtination, under the condition of Faith, and Perſeverance; and a ſpecial abſolute decree of electing thoſe to life, whom he foreknew would believe and perſevere under the means and aids of Grace, Faith, and Perſeverance: and a ſpecial abſolute decree of condemning them, whom he foreſaw would abide impenitent in their Sins*

This Opinion was condemned in the late Synod at *Dort*. I miſlike it for theſe reaſons, *viz.*

1. Becauſe a general conditional Predeſtination is none at all.

2. Becauſe the decree of ſpecial election of ſuch as believe (no better declared than thus) ſeemeth to make men chooſe God firſt, rather than God to chooſe men.

3. Becauſe it maketh the decrees of *Juſtification*, and *Condemnation*, to be the ſame with the decree of *Election* and *Reprobation*, which muſt be diſtinguiſhed, as they are, Romans viii. 29, 30.

4. Becauſe it preſenteth no more Grace, given by God to the Elect, than to the Reprobate, neither greater cauſe of thankfulneſs.

Yet this Opinion doth well, to enlarge the objects of God's fore-knowledge, and to extend it, not only to the fall of the firſt Man, but even to Chriſt, to be manifeſted in the fleſh, and believed on in the world, yea, even to the laſt end of all men, perſevering either in Faith or Unbelief. Agreeing with the Scriptures that build

build Election upon fore-knowledge at large, ſimply and properly taken, (Rom. viii. 29. and xi. 2. 1 Pet. i. 1, 2.) and promiſe Salvation to the Believer, but, perſevering to the end.

Thus have we ſeen four Opinions.

The Tranſition to the Fifth.

Seeing then, none of theſe four give full ſatisfaction, though ſome pieces of truth be found in every one of them, yet joined with ſome inconvenience; it were a work worth the labour, to gather that truth out of them all, that might avoid all inconveniences; the thing which I deſire to do, by the light of God's holy Spirit and Word.

1. So conceiving the order of Divine Predeſtination, as that we ſet not forth only ſome one or two of the Divine attributes and properties, but preſerve and preſent them all;

His *Dominion* and *Power*, as the *firſt* Opinion would;

His *Mercy* and *Juſtice*, as the *ſecond* Opinion would;

His

His *Truth* and *ſpecial Grace*, as the *third* Opinion would;

His *Wiſdom* and *Fore-knowledge*, as the *fourth* Opinion would;

And yet to acknowledge his *Judgments unſearchable*, &c. as the Apoſtle would. Rom. ii. 33.

2. So conceiving it, as may agree with the Holy Scripture expounded literally and without tropes, in the greateſt propriety, and by the light of the moſt, the plaineſt, and moſt fundamental places and principles therein.

3. So conceiving it, as that the Order in Grace doth not ſubvert the Order in Nature; but that we confeſs the wiſdom of God ſo to work his will, as yet he preſerveth the nature, freedom, and properties of the creature, in which he worketh.

4. Laſtly, conceiving it ſo, as that God may both ſave the world in mercy, and judge the world in righteouſneſs.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

THE FIFTH OPINION.

THE fifth Opinion may be leſs acceptable to ſome for the Teachers and Defenders ſake; but a lover of truth accepts no perſons: Theſe are *Arminius* himſelf, if he be interpreted according to his own principles in his *Theſes de natura Dei*, and Vorſtius in his tractate *de Deo*, and the Jeſuits *Molina*, *Vaſquez*, *Suarez*, *Becanus*, and others: Beſides that this is the Opinion of the Fathers, Greek and Latin, before St. *Auguſtine*, if their doctrine concerning preſcience be rightly examined and declared, namely,

1. *That God by his infinite underſtanding, from all Eternity, knew all things poſſible to be, ſeeing them in his own Omnipotency.*

2. *That among other infinite things poſſible, in his underſtanding he conceived all this one frame of*

of the world that now is, and in it, all the race of mankind from the firſt man to the laſt, every one in his ſeveral order, government and event, only as poſſible to be, if he will ſay the Word.

Wherein he underſtood there might be things neceſſary, things contingent; ſome things cauſes, ſome effects, ſome as ends, ſome as means to ends, ſome acts of God, ſome acts of a free creature, ſome good, ſome evil, ſome things as rewards, ſome as puniſhments.

3. *That he knows how to vary or alter the ordering either of all, or of any part, or perſon in the race of men, ſo as other effects, and other ends than thoſe (that now are,) might be brought forth, if he would otherwiſe order them.*

4. *But conſidering this frame of the world, and order of mankind* (as now it is, but then only as poſſible) *that he judged it was exceeding good for the manifeſtation of the glory of his Wiſdom, Power, Goodneſs, Mercy, Juſtice, Dominion, and Lordſhip, if he ſhould will, or decree to put it into execution, and into being.*

5. *That God infallibly foreknew, that if he ſhould decree, to put it into execution, that then theſe and theſe particular perſons would certainly*

tainly, by this order of means and government, be tranſmitted, and brought to eternal life; and that thoſe other particular perſons, under their order of means and government, through their own fault would go into perdition, if Juſtice ſhould be done them.

6. *That though he knew what theſe would be, yet he determined and decreed, out of his own abſolute Will and pleaſure, to ſay,* Fiat, *Be it ſo; and to put into execution, and into being, all this which he had in his underſtanding: and in ſo doing, he predeſtinated all men either to life or death eternal.*

For he predeſtinated to life thoſe particular men, to whom, out of his own good pleaſure, he decreed to give thoſe happy means, which being given unto them, he foreknew they would, thereby, become veſſels fit for honour: he rejected thoſe, letting them periſh, to whom he decreed, to give no other means, than ſuch, under which he foreknew that, through their own ingratitude, they would be fit for wrath, if no other were given them; and out of his own juſt Will, when as he could have ordered them otherwiſe, to the producing of another event, he would not do it, but make them veſſels of his wrath.

With

With reference to this order, the elect are ſtyled by St. *Luke*, ſuch *as were ordained to eternal life;* (Acts xiii. 48.) and the reprobate, by St. *Jude*, ſuch as *were before of old ordained to this condemnation*, ver. 4. And for providence in general, ſee Acts xvii. 26. *having determined the before appointed times*, and for predeſtination in ſpecial, ſee Rom. viii. 29. And Epheſ. i. 11. there is προθεσις, *the ſetting and placing of things by the counſel of his own will*, in that order of cauſes, and of means, which he infallibly underſtands will bring forth ſuch ends and ſuch effects, if he pleaſe to do his part, as is laid out by himſelf in this order; and pleaſe to permit the creature to do its part, as is obſerved in the ſame order. By this *order, means, government, benefits, aids*, &c. I underſtand the creation of man righteous, the permiſſion of his fall, the corrections of his ſin, the means of his reſtauration by the Son of God made man, the calling, the converting of a ſinner, his faith, repentance, perſeverance, his bleſſings, chaſtiſements, tryals, and whatſoever elſe is now found in the order of any man's ſalvation, or in the aberrations from that order, whereby men come to deſtruction. And to this agrees the antient definition of predeſtination, that it is *, *the pre-*

* Præparatio beneficiorum Dei, quibus liberantur, quicunque liberantur.

paration

paration of God's benefits, whereby all are delivered that are ſet free; and *Fulgentius* his definition *, *Divine predeſtination is nothing elſe but the preparation of God's works, which in his eternal providence he foreknew he would do, either mercifully, or juſtly.*

* Prædeſtinatio Dei nihil eſt aliud, quam præparatio operum ejus, quæ in æterna ſua diſpoſitione, aut miſericorditer ſe facturum præſcivit, aut juſte. Lib. 2. ad *Monimum.*

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

An Illustration of the FIFTH OPINION.

THIS Opinion, in the decree of predeſtination, obſerveth an act of God's *Underſtanding*, and an act of his *Will*.

1. The act of his Underſtanding is his Knowledge; in reſpect of things not yet in being, called *Foreknowledge*; which Foreknowledge is put, by this Opinion, before the act of predeſtinating, according to the Scriptures, *whom he foreknew, he predeſtinated.* (Rom. viii. 28. 1 Pet i. 2.)

2. It taketh *Knowledge* here properly, and without any trope, for (that which by the ſchoolmen is called) ſcientia ſimplicis intelligentiæ, *the knowledge of ſimple underſtanding;* and that extended even to things future, con-

 tingent,

tingent, and *ſub Hypotheſi:* God knowing by his infinite underſtanding infallibly, what things will follow, if this or that be done, by himſelf, or by a creature.

3. This Knowledge is the higheſt, that we can conceive in an intelligent nature, and neceſſary to any one that worketh with Wiſdom; and therefore moſt worthy to be attributed to the firſt, higheſt and moſt wiſe Agent, eſpecially in the firſt contriving, diſpoſing, and ordering of all things.

4. A Knowledge moſt neceſſary for him, that muſt govern contingent events, and acts of a free creature; if he will have any ſuch to be under his government.

5. A Knowledge confeſſed and ſuppoſed by the defenders of the *ſecond*, *third*, and *fourth* Opinions, who teach that by his knowledge, God did foreknow the fall of *Adam*, before he decreed to create him, and before he decreed to ſend his Son to redeem him; for with them, and with truth, God did not firſt decree to create man, and to permit him to fall, and then was to ſeek a remedy how to relieve him; but foreknew the remedy that he could uſe, if he ſhould fall, before he decreed to permit him to fall, or

to

to create him; yea ſo infallibly did God foreknow the ſinful fall of man, (which, yet was not God's act, but man's, and a contingent act of a free creature) that upon this foreknowledge, he contrived the whole myſtery of Chriſt, and of our redemption.

Now if this Knowledge were uſed in one contingent thing, it might have been uſed in a million; if in one free act of the firſt man, then in all the free acts of all men; and if in that which was the occaſion of God's mercy in our Redemption, then in all occaſions of God's acts, that are conſequent acts, even of the general Judgment, which ſhall be at the laſt day; for God's knowledge is infinite.

6. This Knowledge of God, being previous to his Predeſtinating, did not look therefore to the Maſs of mankind as created and uncorrupted, nor to the Maſs fallen and corrupted, nor to Chriſt believed on only; but to theſe, and beyond all theſe, to the firſt, middle, and final ſtate of every particular man, and the univerſal ſtate of all men.

Thus much for the act of God's *Underſtanding*, whereof more anon: the act of his *Will* followeth.

1. To predeſtinate is the proper act of the Will of God; his Knowledge is his Counſellor, but his Will is King, and they are both Himſelf, *who worketh all things according to the counſel of his Will;* (Epheſ. i. 11.) and to predeſtinate is the part and office *of the moſt abſolute and perfect Knowledge and Power*, which moſt properly is God's, that ſupremely orders all things, chooſing and allowing what ſhall be, and in what manner, and to what end.

Thus St. *Paul* ſpeaks of the Will of God, (Rom. ix. 18, 19.) but as of the prime, and higheſt, and moſt univerſal cauſe of things, approving or permitting all other inferior cauſes, which becauſe they might have been reſtrained, or changed by the ſupreme cauſe, and were not, they are ſaid all at laſt, to be reſolved into the Will of God, as the prime cauſe.

2. This Will of God is abſolute, independent, having no other cauſe but his own good pleaſure: for whereas, until God makes his Decrees, all things are known but as poſſible, and are yet under the pleaſure of God, whether they ſhall be or no, how can they poſſibly be the cauſes of his Will? He underſtandeth them indeed, as he hath contrived them, fit to be willed, becauſe they are fit to ſhew forth all his Glory,

and

and therefore in the end he willeth them: but he could contrive other things than theſe, or ſet theſe ſome other way as fit to ſhow forth his Glory, if he would; therefore that he willeth theſe, it is his own moſt free pleaſure. Hinc autem nullam eſſe Prædeſtinationis cauſam in prædeſtinato patet, quia cum homo prædeſtinandus nullo modo cenſeatur proprie exiſtere, ſed conditionaliter tantum, nihil poteſt eſſe in eo quod Deus moveat ad illum prædeſtinandum. P. *Ferrius* Spec. Schol. cap. 24. That is, *Hence it plainly appears, there can be no cauſe of Predeſtination in him that is predeſtinated; becauſe when as the Man that is to be predeſtinated, can be thought no manner of way properly to be, but only conditionally, there can be nothing in him, which may move God to predeſtinate him.*

Furthermore, this Opinion avoideth all the inconveniences, that any of the former four do fall into; for

1. It exalteth and magnifyeth all the attributes of God, and not ſome only;

As his *Wiſdom* and *Knowledge*,

In foreknowing not only his own Works, but

alſo all the Works of every free Creature, and that to every circumſtance of every particular in this numberleſs number, and how to govern them to his Glory;

In uſing the reaſonable Creature according to its Nature, in the permiſſion of Sin, in the obedience or diſobedience to Grace, that he may judge the World in Righteouſneſs.

His *Power*,

In creating and governing all things, bringing light out of darkneſs, and happineſs out of miſery.

His *Goodneſs*,

In making all good at the firſt, and overcoming Evil with Goodneſs.

His *Univerſal Grace and Mercy*,

In preparing Redemption for all Men, that had made themſelves Bond-ſlaves to *Satan*; and in providing means to apply, and to communicate this Redemption.

His

* His *Truth*,

In that his promiſes are meant to all to whom they are ſent, and performed to all that keep his conditions.

His *Juſtice*,

In puniſhing all ſuch as uſe not either the Rectitude of their Nature, or the benefit of their Redemption offered, ſincerely and conſtantly.

His *ſpecial Grace and ſingular Love*,

In them whom he foreknew would uſe his benefits, if they were granted them, in whoſe Salvation and Glory he was ſo well pleaſed, that he confirmed to them, by his decree, that courſe and calling which he ſaw would infallibly bring them into it.

Leſs grace being ſhewed unto them, whom he foreknew would fail of Salvation (through their own infidelity, ingratitude or ſecurity,) in the good way wherein they were ſet, or under the

* *Ideò veracem Deum credens, ſcio illum non aliter quàm diſpoſuit pronunciaſſe, nec aliter diſpoſuiſſe quàm pronunciavit.* Tert. *in* Praxeam.

ſufficient calling which they had; which fail of theirs he could have mended, by bettering his benefits if he would; but rather decreed to make them deſerved Veſſels of his Wrath, and Subjects for his Juſtice.

His *Dominion* and *Sovereign Lordſhip*,

In that he being the Higheſt and Supreme Cauſe of all things, ordered them after his own pleaſure, making happy whom he will, and forſaking whom he will, finding them in cauſe worthy to be forſaken, after they have ſo often forſaken him. *In Wiſdom the Father excelleth all Human and Angelical Wiſdom, becauſe he is Lord, and a Juſt Judge, and Ruler over all: for he is both Good, and Merciful, and Patient, and ſaves whom he ought; nor is here wanting to him the Good effect of a juſt Judge, nor is his Wiſdom diminiſhed: for he ſaves whom he ought to ſave, and Judges thoſe that are worthy of Judgment. Yet is not his Juſtice to be counted cruelty, conſidering his foregoing, and preventing Goodneſs* *.

2. This Opinion avoideth the imputation of

* Irenæus, l. 3. c. 25. *Sapientia præcellit Pater, &c.*

Stoical Fate, which the three firſt cannot poſſibly avoid, though they put it from them; for they make Man's Salvation or Damnation neceſſary, by an external and an antecedent neceſſity of a Decree of God. But this Opinion, placing God's Decree after his Fore-knowledge, makes Man's Salvation or Damnation only infallible to God's Knowledge, but free and contingent to Man; God's Knowledge, (as Knowledge,) cauſing nothing, and his Decree not altering or croſſing, but ratifying that which he knew would be the work of Man, working out his own Salvation, by co-working with the Grace of God, or working his own Damnation, by forſaking his own Mercy.

3. It avoideth the accuſations laid againſt the *fourth* Opinion; for it maketh the Election of God abſolute, definite, unconditional, complete, irrevocable and immutable. It maketh God to chuſe Man, and not Man firſt to chuſe God. It hath no affinity with *Pelagianiſm* in the matter of Predeſtination at all, nor in the matter of Grace; unleſs this be *Pelagianiſm*, to hold that under the aids of Grace, the will is yet free to evil, of which we ſhall diſpute in the third part. It maketh Predeſtination the root and cauſe of Calling, Juſtifying, Glorifying; of Faith, Repentance, Perſeverance; and of all the Good that

that is in us: which are the effects of Predeſtination, and effect of the love of God predeſtinating them unto us.

4. It miniſtreth no matter of deſpair, nor of preſumption, but cheriſheth both Hope and Fear.

Not of deſpair; for

Firſt, No Man is decreed againſt, but upon the foreknowledge of his own refuſal of life offered him.

Secondly, The Promiſes are general, and he may truly think them to belong to him.

Thirdly, There is ſufficient Grace in the means of Converſion, to remedy all the Weakneſs or Perverſeneſs that is in Man's depraved Nature: He may hope therefore.

Not of Preſumption; for

Firſt, No Man is decreed for, but with the foreknowledge of his own acceptance of life offered him.

Secondly, The Promiſes of God are general, but

but they have conditions, which he muſt be careful to obſerve, that will inherit the things promiſed.

Thirdly, The Grace, that is in the means of Converſion, is not tyed unto them by any phyſical connexion, but is diſpenſed by the good pleaſure of God, who may offer and unite it to the Word, when and how long he will; or may with-hold the influence of it, and ſo harden or forſake the careleſs or the proud: He may fear therefore.

5. It miniſtreth as much ſweet comfort to all Godly perſons, that find themſelves walking in the ways that lead to Life, and confirmeth their Faith of Eternal Salvation to be enjoyed through Chriſt, and as fervently kindleth their love to God, as any way or order of our Election conceived otherwiſe.

6. *Laſtly*, it acknowledgeth the deepneſs of God's Judgments, and the unſearchableneſs of his Counſels; for who can tell why God by his Decree ſettled upon *Peter*, rather than upon *Judas;* why he loved *Eſau* leſs than *Jacob;* why he ſuffered one Man to periſh, and not another, when he was able out of the treaſures of his Wiſdom and Knowledge to have diſpoſed their

Courſe, Calling, and Government, to quite contrary ends? Who can tell a reaſon, why he diſtributed the Gifts of Nature, and of Grace, ſo diverſely? Why he beareth ſome with ſo long patience, and cuts off others in ſo great ſeverity? Why ſome have ſo much, ſome ſo little, both of Temporal and Spiritual Bleſſings? *Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his Counſellor?* Or *who hath firſt given unto him? For of him, and through him, and to him are all things. To whom be Glory for ever.* (Rom. xi. 34, 35, 36.)

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

An Analyſis to the Seventeenth Article of the Church of England.

TO make manifeſt how perfect a conſent the fifth Opinion hath with the confeſſion of the Church of *England*, in the ſeventeenth Article, which is *of Predeſtination and Election;* and to ſhew who are worthy to be accounted Heterodox from the Church, I moſt humbly crave leave to Analyſe and Explicate the ſaid Article.

In doing whereof I deſire the judicious reader to conſider with me three things;

Firſt, the *Scope* and *Intent* of the Article;

Secondly, the *Parts* and *Paragraphs* with their connexion;

Thirdly, the *loweſt* and *particular Terms* in every Part, and that in their Literal and Grammatical

matical ſenſe, as we are commanded by his Majeſty's Declaration, and according to thoſe places of Scripture, from whence the Terms are taken ſo religiouſly, as nothing could be better.

1. The *Scope* of the Article is;

Firſt, To eſtabliſh an unity of Doctrine in the high point of Predeſtination and Election, among the Members of this Church;

Secondly, To direct them to the right uſe of this Doctrine, and to prevent abuſes.

2. The *Parts* and *Paragraphs* diſtinguiſhed to the eye in moſt Editions are two;

The *firſt*, from the beginning to theſe words, *they attain to Everlaſting Felicity.* This hath reſpect chiefly to the firſt end, the Eſtabliſhing of the ſound Doctrine of Predeſtination:

The *Second* beginneth at theſe words, *As the Godly conſideration*, &c. and reacheth to the end: this hath reſpect chiefly to the ſecond; to direct the Church in the direct uſe of this doctrine, and to avert abuſes and ſcandals.

3. The *loweſt* and *particular Terms* will come to

to be considered in their own places, as they lye in every Paragraph.

The first Paragraph that concerneth doctrine, hath two branches;

The first, the Definition of Predestination. The second the description of the Execution and Manifestation thereof.

The first branch the Definition is set down in these terms; *Predestination to Life is the Everlasting purpose of God, whereby (before the Foundation of the World was laid) he hath constantly decreed by his Counsel, secret to us, to deliver from Curse and Damnation those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of Mankind; and to bring them by Christ to everlasting Salvation, as Vessels made to Honour.*

Here be two things to be considered; *The thing Defined,* and The *Definition.*

The thing Defined, is *Predestination to Life;* which very term admits another *Predestination,* which is *to Death,* or of *Reprobation,* though the Article say nothing expresly of it; Not as if God decreed nothing what to do with wicked Men, or had not a purpose to glorify his Justice in

in them, or were not certain in his Knowledge, who and which they would be: nor as if the Church ſhunned to touch upon that ſtring, as harſh and unpleaſant; (the Doctrine of Reprobation being as profitable to drive Men from the ways of Wickedneſs that lead to Perdition, as the Doctrine of Predeſtination is profitable to draw Men into the ways of Righteouſneſs, being rightly underſtood:) But the reaſon why the Article ſays nothing directly of *Predeſtination to Death*, or of *Reprobation*, is becauſe it is eaſily underſtood by the contrary, whereof the Article ſaith ſo much. For if Predeſtination to Life be the purpoſe of God to deliver from Curſe; then Predeſtination to Death muſt be the purpoſe of God not to deliver from Curſe and Damnation thoſe whom he hath not *found in Chriſt*, (2 Cor. xiii. 5.) but to caſt them into everlaſting Fire, as Veſſels to Diſhonour.

The Definition followeth; That *Predeſtination to Life is the everlaſting purpoſe of God*, &c.

Here I crave leave for clear underſtanding, to ſever and put aſunder the eſſential parts of the Definition, from the Adjuncts and ornaments that are annexed to every ſeveral eſſential part, to make every part more compleat, perfect and comely.

The

The ſubſtance of the Definition is this, *Predeſtination to Life is the purpoſe of God to bring to Salvation thoſe whom he hath choſen:*

Here are three things;

Firſt, An inward Act, his *Purpoſe;*

Secondly, An outward Act, or end purpoſed, *To bring to Salvation;*

Thirdly, The Subject, upon which the purpoſe ſettles the outward act or end, *Thoſe whom he hath choſen:*

To every one of theſe there are ſeveral Adjuncts, making them more full; as, to the Purpoſe of God, is adjoined,

1. That it is an *Everlaſting Purpoſe, before the foundation*, &c.

2. That it is a *Purpoſe whereby he hath decreed;* ſo it is a Decree, as well as a Purpoſe.

3. That what was decreed, was *conſtantly* decreed.

4. That it was decreed *by his own Counſel;*

ſo a wiſe Decree, made by Counſel; a free Decree, made by his own Counſel.

5. That this Counſel is *ſecret to us;* ſo it is a *hidden purpoſe, nobis quidem occulto,* (ſaith the Latin Article;) all theſe inform us concerning the nature of the inward Act.

The outward Act, or End purpoſed, *To bring to Salvation,* hath theſe Adjections or Amplifications,

1. The State and *terminus á quo,* from whence theſe are brought, from Curſe and Damnation; *To deliver from Curſe.*

2. The means by whom they ſhall both be delivered from Curſe, and brought to Salvation, that is, by *Chriſt;*

3. This is illuſtrated by a ſimilitude out of St. *Paul,* (Rom. ix. 21.) *as Veſſels made to Honour.*

To the Subject, upon whom the Purpoſe ſettleth the outward Act or End, The *Choſen,* theſe things are added,

1. That they were *Choſen in Chriſt;*

2. That

2. That they were *chosen out of Mankind.*

Thus you have the essential parts of the Definition, and the Adjuncts to every part, which I separate not, as if the Adjuncts might be spared in the Definition, but only for the clearer contemplation of them, being severed and singled one from another.

Now if I take these again into consideration, I must join to every of the three Principals his Accessories also, as I have laid them out.

And here some man would think I were bound to begin with the first thing named in the Definition, *The everlasting Purpose of God:* but I can give him a reason, why I must do otherwise; for in the Logical and Grammatical construction of the Article, there is here expressed one higher, prior, eternal act of God, viz. *to have Chosen some out of Mankind in Christ,* before the other act of his purpose or decree, *to deliver from Curse, and to bring to Salvation those whom he hath Chosen:* for though in truth both these be Coeternal, yet in order of nature, after our manner of Understanding, and by the words of our Article, one is before the other; *choosing in Christ,* before purpose to *bring to Salvation:* for the purpose is to *bring to Salvation*

thoſe whom he hath choſen, ſaith our Article; which is agreeable to the words of St. *Paul,* that *Purpoſe is according to Election:* (Rom. ix. 11.) but that which is according to another, is *after* that according to which it is framed. So if we ſhall place things according to due order, and of order is our Principal enquiry, predeſtination to Life may be thus defined; *God's chooſing of ſome in Chriſt out of Mankind, before the foundations of the World were laid, and his everlaſting Purpoſe to deliver them from Curſe, and to bring them to everlaſting Salvation, by the ſame Chriſt, in whom they were choſen.* And I appeal to any reaſonable Man, whether this change do offer any violence, or wrong to the words of the Article.

Now in good time cometh this Term, *Choſen in Chriſt,* firſt to be examined, as that wherein lyeth the iſſue of this controverſy, Whether Chriſt was conſidered in the very act of chooſing his Elect? And full well did the Article keep the words of the Apoſtle, that whoſoever hath the Apoſtle, if that were not enough, he may be ſure he hath the Article alſo for him. Let us try out therefore the meaning of the words of the Apoſtle: (Eph. i. 3, 4. πάσῃ εὐλογίᾳ πνευματικῇ) [*Bleſſed be the God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who hath* Bleſſed *us with all Spiritual Bleſſings in heavenly places* in Chriſt: *accord-*

according as he hath chofen us in him *before the foundation of the World, that we ſhould be holy, and without blame before him in Love.*]

1. To take from *Arminius* the envy of his interpretation, hear what St. *Chryſoſtom* long ago wrote upon this place*; *That which he,* [the Apoſtle,] *faith, is of the ſame import, as if he ſhould have ſaid; by whom he* Bleſſed *us, by the ſame he hath alſo* Choſen *us.* And a little after†, *What is the meaning of,* he hath Choſen us in him? *According to Faith to be had in him; this he did before we came into being, or rather before the foundations of the World were laid.* The Commentary aſcribed to St. *Ambroſe* thus writeth upon the Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*‡; "According as he hath choſen us in him: *God* "*foreknowing all things, knew who would believe* "*in Chriſt, as the ſame Apoſtle ſaith in the* "*Epiſtle to the* Romans; (Rom. viii. 29.—ix. "24.) whom he foreknew, he hath alſo called,

* *Quod dicit, perinde eſt, ac ſi dicat, per quem nos benedixit per eundem & elegit.*

† *Quid eſt in ipſo elegit? per eam, quæ in ipſo habenda eſſet, fidem; hoc præſtitit priuſquam ipſi eſſemus, magis autem priuſquam mundi hujus jacerentur fundamenta.*

‡ *Sicut elegit nos in ipſo: præſcius Deus omnium ſcit qui crediturі eſſent in Chriſtum, ſicut dicit ad Rom: Quos præſcivit & vocavit non ſolum ex Judæis, ſed etiam ex Gentibus.*

" not of the Jews only, but alſo of the Gen-
" tiles." So by theſe, as Purpoſe is according to Election, ſo Election is according to Foreknowledge, (1 Pet. i. 2.) and Foreknowledge of what? of Chriſt and Faith in him.

And this was the common opinion of the Fathers before St. *Auguſtine*, although they were not ignorant of the Grace of God, nor of the Superiority of it, and Power of it, over all the infirmity and indignity of Man.

2. But to let paſs Authorities, conſider we, *Secondly*, the very Text; *God hath bleſſed us with all Spiritual bleſſings by Chriſt*; but that it is a *Spiritual* bleſſing, not only our Article confeſſeth, when it ſaith, wherefore *they that are endued with ſo excellent a benefit of God*, &c. but alſo the Apoſtle, who maketh it the prime, the pattern, and the leading Bleſſing, by ſaying; *he hath Bleſſed us with all ſpiritual Bleſſings*, according as he hath choſen us *in him:* So that this is the chief and exemplary Bleſſing, *to be Choſen in Chriſt*, as to be juſtified in Chriſt, to be Sanctified and Glorified, be following Bleſſings imitating the firſt. And if we were Elected without reſpect to Chriſt, then have we one ſpiritual Bleſſing, and not the meaneſt, but the firſt and the

the greateſt, and not from, or by Chriſt; contrary to the Apoſtle, ſaying, God hath Bleſſed us with *every ſpiritual Bleſſing, in Chriſt.* Chriſt is therefore not only the head of the Elect, but alſo the Fountain and Foundation of Election: God not chuſing Chriſt for an Head, until he knew his Members, and together with him chooſing them: elſe this great Grace and Benefit of Election ſhall flow out of ſome other Fountain than Chriſt.

3. Conſider that when theſe words, *he hath Choſen us in Chriſt,* be interpreted, *he hath appointed us to Salvation to be obtained in, or by Chriſt,* applying Chriſt to our obtaining Salvation by him, and not our Election and Chooſing; mark, I ſay, our Article to deſpiſe this interpretation, when it plainly ſevers theſe two, and preſerveth them both diſtinct, *to chooſe in Chriſt,* and *to bring to Salvation by Chriſt;* ſo that Chriſt is as well reſpected in our Election, as in our Juſtification and Glorification, which are things obtained to us by Chriſt. If therefore Election be a *Characteriſtick of Virtue,* (as *Chryſoſtom* ſaith on Rom. 8. *who ſhall lay any thing to the charge of God's Elect?*) all that virtue which the Chooſer did approve, was from Chriſt, in whom he accepted thoſe whom he found in him, not from Faith, not from Works,

but from Chriſt, as it is in the cauſe of Juſtification.

If it be objected, that by this the Election of God is quite taken away, and his Juſtification is only left him; for to take Believers is an act of Juſtice, and not of Choice: I anſwer, that Election and Juſtification differ not in this, that Faith in Chriſt is requiſite to Juſtification, but not to Election: but the difference lieth in a difference of time, though in both Faith in Chriſt be requiſite. The difference in time is this; Before the Decree of God be paſt, or when the Decree is paſt and gone out. While the Decree was in making, or was not yet determined, that which did conclude and determine it, was Choice and not Juſtice; for then God is ſaid to have choſen Believers in Chriſt, becauſe when things were under deliberation and conſultation what ſhould be done, Choice had place, and ſwayed all. But after the Decree is pronounced and eſtabliſhed, when God beholdeth a Believer as a thing that will infallibly be, then he juſtifieth properly, and electeth him not: for his Election is already upon the infallibility of God's Foreknowledge, and the immutability of his Will. And this difference only obſerved, the Doctrine of our Election in Chriſt doth ſtrongly confirm our Faith of Juſtification and Salvation

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by Chriſt, as our Article ſaith after. And our Juſtification by Chriſt doth much enlighten and clear the Doctrine of our Election in Chriſt, according to the three *Hypotheſes* of *Melancthon.* Loco *de Prædeſt.*

1. *Judicandum eſſe de Electione ex Evangelio.*

2. *Totum numerum Electorum propter Chriſtum electum eſſe.*

3. *Non aliam Juſtificationis, aliam Electionis eſſe cauſam.*

Thus much of the firſt Addition to *Choſen*, choſen *in Chriſt.*

2. The ſecond Adjunct unto *Choſen*, is that they were choſen *out of Mankind;* then by our *Article*, all Mankind was not Choſen, but ſome out of Mankind; yet all Mankind was conſidered in the Omniſcience of God, from the firſt Man to the laſt; for he that chooſeth out of all, muſt weigh and examine all.

Out of Mankind, not out of Angels-Kind; for ſeeing the Election is in Chriſt, and Chriſt *took not hold of the nature of Angels*, but of human Nature, the Election muſt be out of Human-

Human-kind, as taken hold on by Chriſt. Chriſt being provided and preached to Human-kind, as *one Mediator between God and Man, the Man Chriſt Jeſus, who for us Men, and for our Salvation came down from Heaven, and was incarnate.*

Laſtly, if Human-kind be it, out of which the Election is made, it muſt be diſtributed into two parts; either as found in Chriſt, or as found out of Chriſt, becauſe the Election is in Chriſt, therefore out of Mankind, as ſomething to do with, or ſome relation to Chriſt: for, If God in his Predeſtination had bent his conſideration unto the Maſs of Mankind innocent and uncorrupted, there had he found no Man reprobable, being that work of his own hand: If to the Maſs of Mankind fallen and corrupt, there had been found no Man Eligible, all being under the Curſe: but conſidering Mankind as under Chriſt, that ſhould dye for it, and ſhould be preached to the World, there he found ſome Eligible, *viz.* ſuch as laid hold on Chriſt by Faith; and ſome Reprobable, that being Sinners received not the Saviour that would be ſent to deliver them from Curſe and Condemnation. And thus much for the firſt act of God in the order of nature, though the third thing mentioned in the letter

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of the Definition, *thoſe whom God hath Choſen in Chriſt out of Mankind.*

Now I come to the firſt thing in the Letter of the Definition, but the ſecond inward act of God, touching them whom he hath Choſen, viz. *his everlaſting Purpoſe,* and Decree what to do for them, and how to do it: and firſt let me treat of the Principal, the purpoſe itſelf, then of the additions and properties of this Purpoſe.

The *Article* calleth it the *purpoſe of God,* and not the purpoſe of Man: Every thing that is read, though in antient * Fathers, is not preſently to be embraced, as made our own. The word is St. *Paul's,* (Rom. ix. 11.) τῦ Θεῦ προθεσις, though there τῦ Θεῦ be not ambiguous, whether it belong to ἐκλογὴν or to πρόθεσις; but is true in both.

Firſt, πρόθεσις may ſignify two things; *firſt,*

* [*Many of the old Commentators by* πρόθεσις *underſtood the reſolution, determination or choice made by Man, when the offers of the Goſpel were tendered unto him;*

Οἱ καθ' οικειαν προθεσιν γενόμενοι κλητοί. Oecum.

Ὧν προέγνω τὴν προθεσιν, τούτους προώρισεν. Theodor.

Κλητὸς δὲ γίνεται ἄνθρωπος κατὰ προθεσιν, τουτέστι καθ' οἰκείαν προαίρεσιν. Theopholact.]

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the ſame that ἰδέα, or *Typus*, or *Archetypus*; the plot, the form, or frame of all things, according to which all things that now are, were made and wrought by God, itſelf being firſt wrought, that is, deviſed and contrived, and ſet in order by him. The Underſtanding of God is the ſeat and ſubject, in which this plot and frame is deſcribed, and as it were written; as the plot of an Architect is drawn, and ſet out in paper, or in the ſand, (for the help of his weakneſs,) that he may ſee with his Eye, a Model of that which is in his Mind, and in time, it may be, ſhould be raiſed and builded by him. Thus ſeems St. *Paul* to uſe the word, when he ſaith, the various Wiſdom of God is known to Angels by the Church, κατὰ πρόθεσιν των αἰώνων ἣν ἐποίησεν ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησε; (Eph. iii. 11.) this word κατὰ πρόθεσιν implieth a pattern that is followed, and this word ἣν ἐποίησεν ſaith the pattern was made by God himſelf in Chriſt Jeſus, as God doing nothing without the Son, being the Chief-eſt piece in the Frame.

Secondly, this word πρόθεσις may ſignify the Purpoſe, Decree, Determination, and Reſolution of the Will of God, to execute, and to put into being, the things whereof the Plot which is in his mind is the Pattern. Thus St. *Paul* taketh it, when he joineth Purpoſe and Grace together;

together; (2 Tim. i. 9.) *who hath ſaved us, and called us with an holy Calling, not according to our Works, but according to his* Purpoſe *and* Grace, *given unto us in Chriſt Jeſus, before the World was:* Or of both theſe together, is the purpoſe of God conſiſting: the Counſel, and the Decree of God intending thoſe things, the order, courſe, and form whereof he hath in his Mind, and his Power, and laſtly in his Will.

So that I may ſay with *Urſinus* on *Iſaiah* xiv. *the Iſſue of things exactly anſwers their Pattern, the counſel and foreknowledge of God;* ſo St. *Paul* would ſay, *all things come to paſs,* κατὰ πρόθεσιν τῦ Θεῦ, *all things do, and fulfill the purpoſe of God.* This purpoſe is about Ends, and Means to thoſe ends, and all circumſtances accompanying them, both in things of the order of nature, and of the order of Grace, and about thoſe things God will do himſelf, and thoſe things he will permit the Creature and all ſecondary Cauſes to do.

And although in the whole Frame or Plot there be two parts, or two ways; one that leadeth ſome to Happineſs, and another wherein ſome go to their own deſtruction; and although the purpoſe of God runs upon them both, as being not without his Counſel or his Will; yet

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in St. *Paul* that only which is the way to Happineſs to ſome, as the more worthy and deſireable part, is called *the purpoſe of God*; juſt as in the Foreknowledge, where although the wicked are not unknown to God, as ignorant of the Men, and of their works; yet the Faithful only and the Elect, are named and called *thoſe whom God Foreknew*, becauſe in them he is pleaſed and delighted: So it is in Purpoſe, that part only of Divine diſpoſition that bringeth unto Happineſs is called *God's Purpoſe*, becauſe he delighteth in the Good of his Creatures, and hath no pleaſure in their Death and Deſtruction, which is of themſelves, and not of him, yet adjudged by him, and decreed upon their Rebellion. And this may ſuffice for the opening of this Term, *the Purpoſe of God.*

As for the Adjuncts added by our Article to Purpoſe, as *the* everlaſting *Purpoſe*, &c. they are ſo clear, as they need no further explication, than was made in the Analyſis before: only to the laſt we may add a word. *By his counſel* ſecret *to us, conſilio nobis quidem occulto.* This clauſe I would have reſerved and kept in mind, to prove that doctrine which I delivered in the eighteenth Chapter of the third part of this work, That although there be revealed to us ſome hopeful ſigns of our Election and Predeſtination,

nation, (as it is witneſſed in the next branch of this Paragraph;) yet the very certainty of our Election or Predeſtination is a ſecret hidden in God, and in this Life unknown to us.

Come we now to the outward Act, or End, purpoſed by God to his Choſen, viz. *to bring them to everlaſting Salvation:* this is *terminus ad quem*, the End which Predeſtination intendeth, as that which decreeth a perfect work, and leaveth not the iſſue uncertain, or contingent as unto God.

To this is added in the Article, the *terminus à quo*, from whence Men are brought to Salvation, *from curſe and damnation*, from which they are *delivered;* And there is added, the means by which they are both delivered from Curſe, and brought to Salvation, and that is, *Chriſt:* and laſtly there is an Illuſtration, *as Veſſels made to Honour.*

Out of theſe words, *to deliver from Curſe*, is rightly collected by * *Robert* late Biſhop of *Saliſbury*, that the Church of *England* doth acknowledge them, *whom God hath Choſen in Chriſt, to be freed from Curſe and Deſtruction; and that it is only a private Opinion, not the pub-*

* *Abbot*, de *Perſever. Sanctor.* in Præfat.

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lick Judgment of the Church, whatſoever hath been otherwiſe, by ſome, inconſiderately written; among thoſe *ſome*, are no meaner Men than Dr. *Whitaker*, and Maſter *Perkins*, who took this Article, to ſpeak for them; whom yet, this learned Biſhop ſaith, have written *inconſiderately* and *otherwiſe* [than the Church.] The Article then hath not been underſtood, and ſo it may yet be not fully apprehended by great Prelates: for likewiſe out of this, that our Article ſaith with the Apoſtle, that our *Election is in Chriſt*, Dr. * *Carleton*, late Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, well collecteth, that this *counſel of God had reſpect unto the corrupt Maſs of Mankind;* for, ſaith he, *the benefit we have by Chriſt appeareth not in the ſtate of innocency.* Where the ſaid Reverend Biſhop diſputeth carneſtly againſt them that teach Predeſtination to be a ſeparation between Men and Men, as they were found in the Maſs of Mankind uncorrupt; which is the doctrine the *Appealer* ſo much inveighed againſt, as contrary to our Church in the ſeventeenth *Article*. So that to me it is ſtrange the Biſhop ſhould be ſo ſevere againſt the *Appealer*, with whom himſelf concurreth in the condemning of the ſame Novelty. But more ſtrange it ſeems to me, that out of thoſe words, *Choſen in Chriſt*,

* *Againſt the Appealer*, viz. Mr. *Mountague*, Pag. 10.

he could collect the fall of Mankind to be presuppoſed by God, before the counſel proceeded to Election; and could not as well collect now, that Chriſt himſelf was preſuppoſed to be ſent into the World, to be preached, to be believed on, or refuſed, before God proceeded to Elect or to Reprobate Man. Seeing the firſt is collected more remotely, that the gift of Chriſt ſuppoſeth Sin, and a Curſe from whence Men had need to be delivered by a Saviour: But the ſecond is expreſly affirmed by the Apoſtle, *he hath Choſen in Chriſt.* And ſo it may immediately be collected that we were Choſen, not to Chriſt, as to be ſent, but in Chriſt ſuppoſed as ſent, and we found believers in him: ſeeing the foreknowledge of God did as well underſtand the iſſue and ſucceſs of Chriſt preached in the World, that he would be the occaſion of the riſing of many, and of the ſore fall of many others, as it underſtood the iſſue of the Creation of Man, of the Commandment given, of the Tempter permitted, that it would be to the fall and corruption of all Mankind.

It is very true that the Biſhop of *Saliſbury* ſaith, (Sect. 1. p. 2.) 'that *God looking upon* 'the *Maſs of Mankind defiled with Sin, and* 'guilty *of eternal Death and Damnation, did* 'there *ſee a convenient opportunity of unfolding*

' *and manifeſting the depth and riches of his* ' *Wiſdom, Juſtice, Mercy, Power, and Provi-* ' *dence, that the greateſt Glory, and the Praiſe* ' *of the moſt illuſtrious Virtues might redound* ' *to him.*' But how to ſhew all this? The Scripture ſaith by *ſending his Son to dye for the World,* for therein are all theſe riches opened. But that he ſaw a fit occaſion to open all theſe by *ſeparating ſome out of that univerſal Perdition, whereby all to a Man were doomed by like ſentence to eternal Death,* the Scripture no where ſaith; and he himſelf that ſaith it, dares not do it, but with this parentheſis, *that the Son of God interpoſed at the making of that ſeparation,* [and that God ſeparated] *ſuch as he willed in him.*

It would clearly appear that the ſeparation of Man was not made upon the view of Mankind corrupted, no more than upon the view of the ſame uncorrupted, but upon Chriſt interpoſing himſelf; God ſeparating *ſuch as he willed in him, and he willed ſuch as believed in him.* This let me expreſs in the words of *Aleſius*, on *John* xvii. 1. ' *when the Son of God foreſaw that* ' *Mankind would by Sin plunge themſelves into* ' *endleſs ruin, he became a ſupplicant for them* ' *to the eternal Father, (here we ſee the Son* ' *interpoſing) and prevailed with him to give all* ' *thoſe*

'*thoſe to him, who would believe on him; that* '*he might reſcue them from the Tyranny of the* '*Devil, and everlaſting Death.*' The Father never denied the Son any thing which he aſked, (Pſal. ii. 3.) *Aſk of me, and I ſhall give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance.* So, by this, the Interceſſion of Chriſt hath obtained all that believe in him to be given to him, to deliver from Curſe, and to bring to eternal Life and Salvation; not their Faith, nor their Works, but Chriſt's favo urwith his Father.

The laſt thing in the Definition is an Illuſtration; the Predeſtinated to Life are accounted *as Veſſels made to Honour.*

This is taken out of St. *Paul*, Rom. ix. 21. where you ſhall find the *Veſſels made to Honour*, to be alſo called *Veſſels of Mercy*, v. 23. and the *Veſſels made to Diſhonour*, called *Veſſels of Wrath;* v. 22. but Mercy and Wrath do both preſuppoſe Sin. Both ſo far wide from the Apoſtle, and our *Article*, are the defenders of the firſt Opinion. What Sin is it that is preſuppoſed? That's now in the queſtion. Whether Original Sin, or Sin againſt Chriſt? It ſeems by the Apoſtle, that *Veſſels of Wrath* were ſuch as *God endured with much Long-ſuffering*, which being deſpiſed, he then

ſhewed his Wrath and his Power over them, ver. 22. which argued their Sin to be Impenitency; and *Veſſels of Mercy* to be ſuch, in whom he *maketh known the riches of his Glory;* but this is done in Chriſt above all; Eph. i. 6, 7. and 2 Tim. ii. 20. The very viſible Church of Chriſt is the great Houſe, wherein are Veſſels, ſome to Honour, ſome to Diſhonour. But the whole ninth Chapter to the *Romans* deſerveth an eſpecial elaboration, that, together with the whole, the ſimilitude of the Potter and his Lump, and his Veſſels, might be openly cleared. The ſum is,

That whereas the Salvation of all thoſe that are ſaved, and the Perdition of all thoſe that periſh, is referred, as it ought to be, to the will of God, to his Mercy and Love, to whom he will enlarged, and from whom he will reſtrained; and that there is no reſiſting nor complaining againſt this will: that then God and his will is to be conſidered, as it is by the Apoſtle, as the Univerſal and Supreme Cauſe of all things, and as the general Mover, Governor, Diſpoſer of them, through whoſe underſtanding, judgment, and allowance they have all paſſed, and might have been otherwiſe diſpoſed, and other events have proceeded out of them, if God had willed.

And

And again; the Supreme Cauſe, as ſuch, muſt not only be conſidered as the chief and prime Agent of things, or as alone doing all, but permitting created natures to uſe their properties, faculties and freedoms, and to govern them and to uſe them to ſuch ends and uſes, as the Wiſdom of God, his Juſtice, his Mercy, his Dominion, ſhall judge fit to uſe them and apply them, holily and righteouſly, and according to God's Nature. God therefore in contemplation of his own works, which he himſelf would do, and of his Creatures of free nature, what they would do, (if he permit,) conceiving the iſſues would be diverſe, ſome Good, ſome Evil, out of his own ſovereign Pleaſure and Power, confirmed and ratified by an immutable Decree thoſe iſſues, and their free cauſes that would bring them forth, whereby he prepared ſome Men to Glory, ſome Men to Deſtruction, as unto ends, but not without the intervent of their own acts, as well as of his. Who though he could have mended or altered any of his own works, or any of the other Creatures to other Iſſues; yet he would not, notwithſtanding he knew that letting things go thus, the greateſt part of the maſs or multitude of Mankind would go into Perdition, and but a few in compariſon would be tranſmitted to Life and Glory: yet he reſted in this purpoſe with as much blameleſs liberty, as the *Potter* hath, who

makes of the ſame Lump of Clay Veſſels for honourable Uſes, and Veſſels for viler and baſer Uſes. For although there ſeem a great deal of nearneſs between the *Potter*, (as a man an owner,) and his clay, and there come but few things between the Will and power of the one, and the uſes and End of the other, (as put caſe the aptneſs and inaptneſs of clay to an end, which yet the Potter could mend, if he liſt, by coſt and labor;) whereby the Potter's power ſeems to be more great and abſolute: yet it is moſt true, that there is a great deal more of nearneſs, between God and his Creature; and though there come many more things between the Will of God, and the End of his Creature, yet ſuch is the infinite Knowledge, Wiſdom, and Power of God, that notwithſtanding theſe many more things intervenient, God's will is nearer to the end of his creatures, than the Potter's will can be to the end of his clay, where ſo little or nothing come between. Thoſe, then, whom God choſe in Chriſt, and Decreed to bring to Salvation by Chriſt, upon ſuppoſition of his own acts in giving Chriſt and his Spirit unto them, and upon ſuppoſition of their acts in receiving Chriſt, and obeying his Spirit, theſe are Veſſels made unto Honour. And again, thoſe whom he rejected, and decreed to bring into everlaſting Deſtruction, upon ſuppoſition of their

acts

acts in despising his promises, and in abusing his benefits given unto them, those are Vessels made to Destruction. There is a necessity of such suppositions here, because the Mass of Mankind is not like unto the Mass of *Potter's* earth, rude, reasonless and senseless, but is a free Creature, whose nature is by the Ordinance of the Creator, to work out, and to procure to itself its own end, Good or Evil; Good, by working according to God seeking that good to Men, or Evil, by declining from, or forsaking of God in his Work, and so failing of good, he falls into Evil. But because God was able to have altered or amended the whole, or any piece of the Mass, which haply the *Potter* is not always able to do in his Mass, therefore God must needs be acknowledged to have a more excellent Power over Mankind his Mass, than any *Potter* hath of his Clay to make Vessels to Honour or Dishonour. Whereby at last all is resolved into the Will of God, but as it is the Supreme and Universal Cause which doth allow all inferior Causes to move, and work according to their natures; which movings and workings he orders and applies to his own Glory of Justice, or Mercy, as seemeth agreeable to his Will*. Thus much

* Vid. *Epiphan.* Hæres. 64. Contra *Orig.* p. 246. & *Hieron.* Hebdiæ. Quæst. 10.

for the firſt branch of the firſt Paragraph, *viz.* The Definition of Predeſtination to Life.

Now followeth the ſecond branch, which is a deſcription of the execution, or of the manifeſtation of our Predeſtination to Life; which is expreſſed in theſe words, *wherefore they that be endued with ſo excellent a benefit of God, be called according to God's purpoſe by his Spirit working in due ſeaſon.* This ſtrain ſeems to be an imitation of St. *Paul,* (Rom. viii. 29, 30.) and it is a good explication thereof; ſaving that St. Paul tyeth the links together one unto another by a repetition or replication, *Thoſe whom he foreknew, he did Predeſtinate; and* whom he did Predeſtinate, *them he alſo called;* whom he called, *he alſo juſtified; and* whom he juſtified, *he alſo glorified.* But our article uniteth all theſe latter unto one, the firſt, as ſo many effects of one cauſe, and implyeth the connexion of one of them to the other, only by the order of their enumeration, ſaying thus, *they that be endued with ſo excellent a benefit of God;* which is as much as, *they that be Elected by Chriſt as foreknown, they be called, they be juſtified, they be glorified*: ſo the imitation agreeth well without any material difference. The Explication our Article maketh, appeareth moſt by the Additions, which it putteth to St. *Paul.*

1. As

1. As firſt, inſtead of *whom he foreknew*, it calleth our Predeſtination, *præclarum Dei donum; thoſe that be endued with ſo excellent a benefit*, with reference to the Definition afore.

2. That it eſteemeth this *excellent benefit*, the fountain and the cauſe of all ſpiritual Bleſſings that follow in the Article, viz. *Calling*, *Juſtifying*, *Glorifying*; for it ſaith, *unde qui tam præclaro Dei beneficio ſunt donati, vocantur*; *wherefore they that be endued with ſo excellent a benefit of God are called.*

3. That to St. *Paul's* words, *called according to purpoſe*, the Article addeth, *by his Spirit working in due ſeaſon, and they through Grace obey the Calling*. By which two additions the *Article* declareth what *Calling according to purpoſe is*, viz. *when God's Spirit worketh in Calling*, and not the outward word alone; and *when by Grace that Calling is obeyed*: for theſe two are in the courſe and plot approved by God.

4. When to St. *Paul's juſtified*, the Article addeth, *they be made the Sons of God by Adoption, they be made like to the Image of his only begotten Son Jeſus Chriſt, they walk religiouſly in Good works*; Theſe are added as ſo many effects of our Election originally, and as ſo many effects

fects of our Juſtification immediately, and as ſo many pledges and ſigns of our future Glorification; for upon this is concluded, that *at length by God's Mercy they attain to everlaſting felicity.* Out of this declaration, which the Article maketh, of the execution and manifeſtation of Predeſtination, there be four things eſpecially to be learned;

Firſt, that the Article intendeth the ſame thing which * *Melancthon* ſays St. *Paul* intended, *The whole order and courſe of God's proceedings in the forming and perfecting his Church:* to the end that our Faith of eternal Salvation by Chriſt might be eſtabliſhed and confirmed, ſince God hath contrived the whole courſe whereby he will build his Church, that is, whereby he will have on Earth a choſen Generation that ſhall inherit in Heaven everlaſting Felicity. And this we may certainly believe, becauſe the Knowledge of God which is infallible, his Purpoſe which is unchangeable, his Calling according to purpoſe which cannot be fruſtrate, his Juſtifying which cannot be controuled, and his Glory which is invincible, are all found in this order and courſe here ſet down.

* *Totum ordinem complecti voluit, quo Eccleſia condita eſt à Deo.* In *Rom.* viii. 29, 30.

Beſides

Beſides the Scripture ſaith, (Pſ. xxxiii. 11.) *The counſel of the Lord ſtandeth ſure, and the thoughts of his heart to all generations.*

Secondly, whereas in this Chain there is one Link, which is put not only as the firſt in order, but alſo as the cauſe and fountain of all the reſt, which are not only tyed to it, but derived from it; namely, *the excellent benefit of our Election, and Predeſtination in Chriſt, which was given unto us by God, and ſettled upon us by his purpoſe before the foundation of the World*, (2 Tim. i. 9.) from whence do flow all the lower bleſſings of Calling according to Purpoſe, Juſtifying, Glorifying, as effects, as iſſues out of the firſt and higheſt. Therefore we are bound, *to bleſs God the Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, (as St. Paul doth) *who hath Bleſſed us with all ſpiritual Bleſſings*, viz. with Calling, Juſtifying, &c. *according as he hath Choſen us in him, that we ſhould be Holy and Unblameable before him in Love.* Eph. i. 3, 4. For the latter Bleſſings do call upon the firſt, not only as a pattern, but as a fountain and root of them all. Now if it ſhould ſeem ſtrange that thoſe ſhould be the effects of Predeſtination, and yet be foreknown before Predeſtination, according as St. *Paul* ſetteth Foreknowledge before Predeſtination, and Calling after it, as the Effect; this doubt is cleared

by the remembering, that the *Foreknowledge* that St. *Paul* ſpeaketh of is that only *of ſimple Underſtanding*, which is not the cauſe of any thing abſolutely to be, but only as poſſible, or future, but *ſub hypotheſi*, if the will of God ſay it; and by remembering, *Secondly*, that the Will and Decree of God, (wherein Predeſtination properly conſiſteth,) is only the cauſe why any thing cometh to act, and into being abſolutely, God willing it to be indeed after that manner, as he knew it might be before he willed it to be. So by this it is plain that the things which were the Objects of the Underſtanding foreknowing them firſt as poſſible, are afterwards the Effects of the Will of God, when they are commanded by a Decree abſolutely to be, and to come into act: the Knowledge of God being unto him a light and a guide, but his Will being unto us the Fountain of all our Good, and the ground of the duties of Thankfulneſs.

Thirdly, whereas the lower links ſay, *whom he Predeſtinated, he Called*, &c. we learn from hence, that the miniſtry of the Word, whereby the Holy Ghoſt Calleth, Juſtifieth, Sanctifieth the Elect people of God, chiefly intendeth the execution of Predeſtination; according to St. *Paul*, Eph. iv. 12. that *Paſtors and Teachers are given for the perfecting of the Saints, for the*

the work of the Miniſtry, for the edifying of the body of Chriſt. * *He therefore Glorified none but thoſe whom he Predeſtinated, Called, and Juſtified.*

This may ſeem contrary to the general φιλανθρωπία, or love of God to all Men, which is alſo the Fountain of the general Promiſe of the Goſpel which calleth all. Hence ſome do teach Grace to flow from God by two fountains; by the way of Preaching, or by the way of God's Purpoſe. Carleton Pag. 41. But it is certain that the Graces which come from God by the way of Purpoſe, come alſo by the way of Preaching, and no other way without Preaching. But this is reconciled by St. *Paul*, laying down God's Foreknowledge as the firſt link of this Chain, that leadeth and guideth all; for though the general Love of God be the Fountain from whence the Preaching of the Word, Calling, and Promiſe of all Grace, do proceed, even to the very Elect; yet it being impoſſible for God to be ignorant, or not to know the ſucceſs of the word Preached, or of his Calling, or of his Promiſe, who would obey, and who not; it was impoſſible but He, reſting in them,

* *Non ergo alios, ſed quos prædeſtinavit, vocavit, juſtificavit, ipſos glorificavit.* *Aug.* de *Prædeſt. Sanct.* Cap. 17.

and

and being content in their Perſons, and in their Number, (though few, though otherwiſe contemptible,) whom he knew would believe, ſhould not as mainly intend their Salvation and their Calling, as if he ſent his word only for them; and ſending his word unto the reſt, as if he held in [and kept to himſelf] the knowledge of their diſobedience, would not by his Preſcience hinder the Declaration and Manifeſtation of his good Will to them. So that by this the Preaching of the Word is the Fountain of all Grace to them that receive Grace, and might be alſo to them that receive it not. And God's Purpoſe or Predeſtination out of Foreknowledge is the Fountain of Grace to them that have it, becauſe for their ſakes eſpecially it was that the word was ſent and preached: and they which have not Grace, to whom the word is Preached, want it not through the want of Predeſtination, but through their own neglect and diſdain; for had their obedience been foreknown, they might have been *of the number of the Predeſtinate.* Remember ever that *whom he did forcknow* is as much before, *he did Predeſtinate;* as *whom he did Predeſtinate*, is before *he Called.*

Laſtly, we learn by the links of this Chain obſerved ſeverally, that whoſoever would know, whether he himſelf be of the number of the Elect,

Elect, he do not fix his Eye immediately upon either of these extremes, *Predestination* and *Glorification*; but upon the middlemost that be between, and try whether he be *Called* or whether he *obeyed the Call*; whether he be *Justified*, or *made like to the Image of God's only Son*, or *walk Religiously in all good Works*. These things if he find, then may he trust, that God hath Elected him, hath Predestinated him to Salvation *. So Bishop *Bancroft* understood our Article, at the Conference at Hampton-Court †, to teach to reason rather *by ascending*; and so ‡ *Melancthon* understood St. *Paul* to teach.

Now I come to the second Paragraph, which giveth direction to the right use of this Doctrine, and cautions for avoiding abuses and scandals.

The whole Paragraph consisteth of two Propositions; the first beginneth here, *as the Godly consideration of Predestination*, &c. the second at, *furthermore we must receive*, &c.

The first Proposition is long, and consists *of*

* *Vide Keckerm. System.* 461. *de Sorite logica.*

† See Churchman's Remembrancer, No. 4. H. C. C. p. 22.

‡ *Nusquam esse Electos, nisi in cœtu vocatorum.* In *Rom.* 8. 29. Loco de *Prædest.*

two

two parts relating to, and compared with each other, expreſſed by the Signs, *as, ſo.*

The ſecond period is ſhorter, but yet conſiſteth of a copulative propoſition, which is in ſubſtance two. One directing to receive God's promiſes generally; the other directing to follow in our doings that Will of God, which directly is expreſſed in the Word of God.

The compariſon in the firſt Period, is laid between two unlike conſiderations of two different things, which produce two unlike effects in Perſons of unlike Quality, expreſſed in theſe words; ‘ *As the Godly conſideration of Pre-*
‘ *deſtination, and our Election in Chriſt is full*
‘ *of ſweet, pleaſant, and unſpeakable Comfort to*
‘ *Godly Perſons, and ſuch as feel in themſelves*
‘ *the working of the Spirit of Chriſt, mortifying*
‘ *the works of the Fleſh, and their earthly Mem-*
‘ *bers, and drawing up their Minds to high and*
‘ *Heavenly things, as well becauſe it doth greatly*
‘ *eſtabliſh and confirm their Faith of eternal Sal-*
‘ *vation to be enjoyed by Chriſt, as becauſe it doth*
‘ *fervently kindle their love towards God:* So *for*
‘ curious *and* carnal *Perſons lacking the Spirit of*
‘ *Chriſt, to have continually before their Eyes*
‘ *the ſentence of God's Predeſtination, is a moſt*
‘ *dangerous downfall, whereby the Devil doth*
‘ *thruſt*

' *thruſt them either into deſperation, or into* ' *wretchleſneſs of unclean living, no leſs perilous* ' *than deſperation;*' So far the firſt Period.

Out of the firſt part of this compariſon we may conceive theſe inſtructions given us by the Church.

1. That the conſideration of our Predeſtination and Election in Chriſt, according to the Definition and Doctrine in the former Paragraph, is the only godly conſideration of Predeſtination; and therefore ought to be uſed by all that will either teach or conſider this myſtery, not to conſider our Election without conſidering Chriſt.

2. That this conſideration wherein Chriſt is had, is the fountain of moſt ſweet, pleaſant, and unſpeakable comfort; as indeed without Chriſt there can be no comfort to any child of *Adam*.

3. That this comfort appertains, and is appliable only to Godly perſons, and ſuch as feel in themſelves the working of the Spirit of God; ſo that no Man is to preſume of his Election, before he *feel the working of the Spirit in him mortifying*, &c.

4. That to ſuch, their Faith may be greatly confirmed of obtaining Salvation by Chriſt, ſeeing themſelves conformed to the Image of Chriſt; and their Love to God greatly kindled, finding that God hath called them, and ſanctified them in Chriſt Jeſus.

5. *Laſtly*, that the publiſhing of this Doctrine of our Election in Chriſt is very juſtifiable and warrantable; becauſe to ſuppreſs or withhold ſo good an occaſion of confirming the Faith, and inflaming the zeal of Godly Men, would be a great injury to them, and a great wrong to the Grace of God.

Out of the ſecond part, or reddition of this compariſon, *So for curious and carnal Perſons*, &c. we may conceive theſe cautions to be given us by the Church.

1. That *to have continually before a man's eyes the ſentence of Predeſtination*, is a different thing from *the Godly conſideration of Predeſtination in Chriſt.*

2. This ſentence is *a moſt dangerous downfall*; is like ſome exceeding high and ſteep rock, which is dangerous for any Man to ſtand upon, or to look down from; ſeeing from ſuch high downfalls

downfalls the Devil uſeth to tempt Men *to throw themſelves down*, (Matt. iv. 6.) as he did Chriſt; and from this *precipice* the Devil may thruſt Men either into Deſpair or Security.

3. That this *having the Sentence of Predeſtination continually before their eyes*, is the uſe and practiſe but of *curious and carnal Perſons, and ſuch as lack the ſpirit of Chriſt*, to whom alſo theſe Evils do betide of deſpair and ſecurity; and therefore this would be ſhunned and avoided, as he that loves his ſafety would ſhun to walk upon, or gaze from ſome high and deep downfall.

One point in this compariſon needeth ſome more full explication; for it may be queſtioned, whether the Article means, that theſe different effects of comfort or downfall, do proceed only from the difference of the Perſons that do conſider; being either pious or curious, carnal or ſpiritual, having the Spirit of Chriſt, or lacking the Spirit of Chriſt; or do flow alſo from the difference of the things conſidered, *viz.* either of *Predeſtination or Election in Chriſt*, or *the ſentence of God's Predeſtination.*

There are, that make no difference between theſe two, and ſo to them the difference that

the Article noteth muſt ariſe, only from the difference of the Perſons conſidering one and the ſame doctrine of Predeſtination. But I may be bold to put a difference between the things conſidered, as well as between the Perſons conſidering, becauſe the Article doth ſo; *ſo for curious and carnal Perſons*, &c. The Article doth not ſay, it is a dangerous downfall, namely, *the conſideration of Predeſtination and Election in Chriſt*, as keeping the ſame ſubject whereof it had ſpoken before as comfortable; but it ſubſtituteth another ſubject, *to have continually before their eyes the Doctrine of God's Predeſtination:* that is a dangerous downfall, and not the other. And to me it ſhould ſeem incredible that either the Article ſhould ſay, or that Dr. *Bancroft* ſhould ſay, that the ſound, full and whole Doctrine of Predeſtination and our Election in Chriſt, ſuch as is here delivered in the former Paragraph, ſhould be a dangerous downfall, even to carnal Perſons, and even them that lack the Spirit of Chriſt. For although it be true that the fruit and comfort of this, and many other divine Truths, be reaped only by Godly Perſons, when they are come to have the Spirit of Chriſt, *&c.* And it be true alſo, that our curioſity and carnal affections be great impediments to the right conceiving and judging of Divine Truths: yet it is as true, that every

neceſſary

neceſſary Doctrine is in ſacred Scripture ſo fully, perfectly and coherently delivered, and ought to be therefore fitly thence deduced by the Church, that of itſelf it have no aptneſs to become a downfall even to carnal Perſons, and ſuch as have not the Spirit of Chriſt; ſince the Scripture was not written to be read only of them that do already in humility believe it, and are filled with the Spirit of Chriſt, but even by natural Men having only ordinary human judgments, and to taſte of the things of God.

What then is it, that the Article ſaith, hath ſo much as a likelihood of a downfall to the curious and carnal? *To have continually before their eyes the ſentence of God's Predeſtination.* What is this *ſentence?* The bare and naked ſentence; that very Decree itſelf in generality, That *God hath Predeſtinated ſome Men to Life, and hath Reprobated ſome to Death*, (ſuch is the firſt of the nine Aſſertions at Lambeth) without any mention or conſideration of Chriſt, of Faith, of God's Preſcience, or any other of his Attributes. This naked ſentence, without any thing of the order or manner how this Decree is concluded, or come unto, is that *precipice*, that exceeding height, from whence the Devil doth, or may thruſt men curious and carnal into Deſpair or Security, laying all their Reli-

gion upon Predeſtination: *If I ſhall be ſaved, I ſhall be ſaved.* This is that which Dr. *Bancroft* calleth a *deſperate Doctrine**. The ſelf-ſame for ſubſtance methinks I find expreſſed by *Hemingius*, (in Syntagmo loco de Prædeſt.) whom I beſeech you hear with a little patience.

1. *De æterna Prædeſtinatione rectè erudiri Eccleſiam ſummoperè neceſſarium eſt; nam ut nulla doctrina uberiorem conſolationem piis conſcientiis afferre ſolet, quam doctrina Prædeſtinationis rectè explicita; ita nihil periculoſiùs eſt, quam rectâ Prædeſtinationis ratione aberrare.*

2. *Nam qui a verâ deflectit, in præcipitium fertur, unde ſe recipere non poteſt.*

3. *Sunt quidam, qui cum audiunt noſtram ſalutem in Dei Electione & propoſito ſitam eſſe, & modum verum haud obſervant, ſomnia Stoica, & Fabulas Parcarum fingunt, quibus & ſeipſos miſerè implicant, & alios perniciosè ſeducunt.* (vid. Theſ. 4, 5, 6, 7.)

4. *Modus autem Predeſtinationis veriſſimus eſt, quem* Paulus *nobis commonſtrat, cum ad Epheſ. ſcribit,* Elegit nos in Chriſto. (Eph. i. 9, 10, 11.) *In hoc modo conditio fidei includitur: nam*

* See Churchman's Remembrancer, No. 4. p. 22.

cum

cum fide inſerimur Chriſto, ejus membra efficimur, & ideo Electi, quia Chriſti membra ſumus.

The ſentence therefore of Predeſtination, without reſpect to the *manner* of it, is a *downfall;* but the manner *of it, our being* Choſen in Chriſt, is the fountain of all Comfort, and Hope, and Godlineſs, which maketh this matter of ſo much worth to contend for, the true manner of divine Predeſtination.

Now I come to the Period of the ſecond Paragraph, and the whole Article; *Furthermore, we muſt receive God's Promiſes in ſuch wiſe, as they be generally ſet forth unto us in holy Scripture, and in our doings, that Will of God is to be followed, which we have expreſly declared unto us in the Word of God.*

This part of the Article Biſhop *Bancroft* ſhewed King *James* at *Hampton-Court, as the Doctrine of the Church of* England *touching Predeſtination,* and it was there very well approved. Moreover, the King's moſt excellent Majeſty that now is*, in his Declaration, commanding that all further curious ſearch be laid

* Charles I. See Churchman's Remembrancer, No. 2. p. 87, et ſeq.

aſide, willeth that *theſe diſputes be ſhut up in God's Promiſes, as they be generally ſet forth unto us in the holy Scripture;* as if the general Promiſes of God were the ſureſt Principles, to determine all theſe doubts and differences by, and they reſt ſafely that reſt in them.

The Authority of this Article, together with other like Paſſages in our *Catechiſm* and *Homilies*, conſtrained our Divines that were at *Dort*, to deliver, in ſecundo articulo, theſe *Theſes*, for the third and fourth.

3. *Deus lapſi generis humani miſeratus, miſit Filium, qui ſeipſum dedit pretium Redemptionis pro peccatis totius mundi.*

4. And for the fourth *Theſis, In hoc merito mortis Chriſti fundatur univerſale promiſſum Evangelicum, juxta quod omnes in Chriſto credentes remiſſionem peccatorum, & vitam æternam reipſa conſequantur.* Which they confirm by Mark xvi. 15. [*Go ye into all the World, and Preach the Goſpel to every Creature, he that Believeth and is Baptized ſhall be ſaved, but he that Believeth not ſhall be Damned:*] So that this part of the Article, though it be the laſt, yet is not the laſt in worth and uſe.

For

For whereas it ſaith; *furthermore we muſt receive*, &c. It intendeth to give further remedy againſt the harm, which may be taken by curious and carnal Perſons, from the ſentence of Predeſtination had continually before their Eyes: which harm ariſeth from the Sentence alone, without reference, and without order to the general Promiſes of God. For if we receive God's Promiſes in ſuch wiſe, as they be generally ſet forth to us in holy Scripture, it is not poſſible we ſhould conceive that God hath Decreed any ſentence of Predeſtination before the contemplation of the ſucceſs and event of thoſe his general Promiſes. For if he have afore Decreed to give Faith and Salvation but to ſome few choſen already thereunto, and then come after with a Promiſe of Salvation generally unto all upon condition of Faith, this Promiſe muſt needs be to many illuſory, and deceitful; and thence it comes that the ſentence of Predeſtination is a downfall to deſpair and careleſſneſs.

This is the reaſon why they that teach, as *Melancthon*, *Hemingius*, *Hunnius*, and the Divines of *Saxon* do, the order of Election to be after the Redemption wrought by Chriſt, and after Faith in him conſidered in God's Foreknowledge, do ſo earneſtly urge the Univerſality of God's Promiſes, and the Unity of God's Will

to

to that which he hath revealed; and ſo doth our Article.

This conſequence (the Promiſe to be illuſory, after Predeſtination decreed,) *Bucer* himſelf did well ſee and acknowledge, and therefore, according to his Principles, he was neceſſarily tyed, to lay another foundation than the general Promiſe, which is this; '*Primum quod Deo debes* '*eſt, ut credas te ab eo eſſe Prædeſtinatum; nam* '*id niſi credas, facis eum tibi, cum te ad ſalutem* '*vocat per Evangelium, illudere.* And Again; '*ſi dubitas te Prædeſtinatum eſſe, neceſſe eſt te* '*dubitare de omni promiſſione ſalutis tuæ; dubi-* '*tare de Evangelio, hoc eſt, Deo nihil credere* '*omnium, quæ tibi in Evangelio offert.* And 'again; *tanquam caput omnis noxæ tentationis* '*repellenda eſt hæc quæſtio,* Simuſne Prædeſti-'nati? *Præſumendum, eſt igitur tanquam prin-* '*cipium fidei, nos omnes eſſe a Deo præſcitos,* '*præfinitos, ſeparatos a reliquis, & electos in hoc* '*ut in æternum ſervemur, hocque propoſitum Dei* '*mutari non poſſe* *.'

But this form of teaching ſeems, to me at leaſt, new and ſtrange, to preſume that at the very firſt, which is the laſt thing we attain unto after long exerciſe in Goodneſs; namely, to be-

* Bucer. in Rom. 8. pag. 411.

lieve

lieve that we are Predeſtinated unto Life, whereof we have neither promiſe nor ſign at our firſt entrance into Chriſtianity. How much more rightly the Apoſtle Paul? (Rom. x. 9.) *this is the word of Faith which we Preach, that if thou ſhalt confeſs with thy mouth the Lord Jeſus, and ſhalt believe with thy heart that God raiſed him from the Dead, thou ſhalt be ſaved.* St. *Paul's* meaning is, that the firſt thing we owe to God, is to believe the general Promiſe, out of which we cannot exclude ourſelves; *if thou believe and confeſs thou ſhalt be ſaved.* Unleſs I interpret *Bucer's credere*, in a more large manner, that I believe it poſſible I may be one of the Elect; * under hope, I will try and hear what God will work, as he *that ploweth, ploweth in hope:* But this is far from the Faith *Bucer* ſpeaks of God. And even this hope muſt have a ground and warrant, or elſe it maketh aſhamed: but what ground can it have like to the univerſal Redemption by Chriſt, and the general Promiſes of the Goſpel?

This is that net, which the fiſher of Men ſpread over all Men to draw them on to God: If I once ſurmiſe or ſuſpect that God intends

* *Unicuique agendum in ſpe. Abbot* Epiſc. *Sariſb.* in *Thompſoni* Diatrib. Pag. 141.

to draw by the Goſpel, or to gather to himſelf, but ſome few ſpecial particulars, whom he hath marked out; I begin preſently to tremble, fearing I may be none of them, ſeeing the number is but ſmall, and it is eaſier to be found among the many, than one of the few.

When the Lord ſaid to the twelve, *One of you ſhall betray me;* every one began to fear and ſuſpect himſelf, when yet there was but one of twelve that ſhould do the thing: how much more may Men fear, when it is ſaid, Faith is the Gift of God, and this he giveth but to the Elect, which are few in compariſon of thoſe that have it not? This way leads me to diſcomfort or deſpair, or at leaſt it taketh away from me all remorſe for unbelief and impenitence: for if God giveth me not Faith and Repentance, and that out of his Decree, by which he determined not to give it but to ſome few; I cannot do withal, nor help it, if I have not faith.

But when I hear that the Mercy and Love of God to Mankind, hath given his Son *a ranſom for all*, (1 Tim. ii. 6.) and that the God of Truth hath made a general Promiſe to ſave all that believe; though I know but few to be ſaved, becauſe few believe: ſince yet I know this to ariſe from the contempt and neglect of

Men,

Men, and not from God, I am no way diſmayed, but have a door of Hope opened wide unto me from God, and have cauſe to fear and blame none but myſelf. And againſt mine own natural corruptions, which are indeed deeply to be feared, I have ſufficient relief, from the Grace of God, which is in the word of the Goſpel, and in God ready to help me.

Neither doth it ſatisfy to ſay, the Promiſe is therefore delivered in general, becauſe the Preachers that publiſh it, are ignorant who be God's Elect, and therefore they call, and let God work when he will.

1. For *firſt*, the Promiſes thus general are to be read in holy Scripture, wherein God ſpeaks himſelf, who *knoweth who are his.*

2. Preachers are to be accounted true witneſſes for God, and to ſay no more, no leſs, than God himſelf would ſay, if he would preach to Men.

3. The commandment to believe, which is joined with the Promiſe, bindeth all that hear it, and maketh them guilty that do not obey. I applaud our Divines at *Dort*, for their ſuffrage, ' *Evan-*
' *gelio nihil falſum, aut ſimulatum ſubeſt, ſed quic-*
' *quid in eo per Miniſtros offertur, aut promit-*
' *titur*

'*titur hominibus, id eodem modo ab authore*
'*Evangelii offertur, & promittitur iisdem.* (Pag.
'28.) And again; *Quod si non omnes, quos*
'*hoc verbi spiritusque sui dono dignatur Deus,*
'*ad conversionem seriam seriò invitaret; certè*
'*& Deus nonnullos, quos ipse Filii sui nomine*
'*vocat, falleret, & promissionum Evangelicarum*
'*nuncii à vocatis falsò perhibiti testimonii accu-*
'*sari possunt, & qui ad conversionem vocati pa-*
'*rere negligunt, redderentur excusabiliores.*' It is nothing therefore which is said of the mixture of the Reprobate with the Elect, as to the truth of the Generality of the Promise, although it be something as to the Foreknowledge and Omniscience of God, who cannot be ignorant of the success and event of his Promises general. But the generality of the Promise testifieth against them that say, God hath Decreed afore to whom to give Faith, and to whom to deny it, out of the multitude of Mankind fallen, out of his own pleasure; that they, as much as in them lyeth, make God a lyar and a dissembler.

The last *caveat* or direction is not much different from the former: that *in our doings, that Will of God is to be followed, which we have expressly declared unto us in the Word.* For this Doctrine ariseth from the true and necessary distinction

diſtinction of the Will of God, which is into *ſecret* and *revealed*, (Deut. xxix. 29.) and that of the School, into *Signi & Beneplaciti;* which ſome abuſing, by thinking that God may have another Will ſecret and different, about the ſame thing whereof he hath a declared and revealed Will: or that which is ſignified, is leſs pleaſing than that which is ſecret, called *Beneplaciti;* do forſake or neglect his Will revealed, to fulfil his Will ſecret, which they count to be his only Will.

As in this preſent matter:—When the Word of God revealeth it to be the Will of God, that every hearer of the Goſpel do repent, believe, and be ſaved; ſome man, granting this to be God's revealed Will, and ſignified Will, may notwithſtanding imagine that God hath another ſecret Will, and that of his good Pleaſure, which ſhall ſtand, not to have him repent, nor to believe, nor to be ſaved. And this imagination is commonly founded upon the Doctrine of Predeſtination which excludeth Preſcience, and maketh God to proceed immediately to his Election, upon the conſideration of the fall of Mankind.

But againſt this, our Article adviſeth to follow

low in our doings the Will of God declared in his Word; and this it doth, not only by way of advice, as if it were at our liberty, and only the beſt and ſafeſt way, but even out of neceſſary grounds; for,

Firſt, that which is ſecret and hidden can be to us no certain ground to build upon; for who knows God will not give him leave to repent, believe, or be ſaved?

Secondly, That there can be no ſecret Will of God, contrary to his revealed and declared Will; for this were to make God a liar: but even theſe two ſecret and revealed have two divers Objects; or of one Object, yet divers Times wherein they are placed. As for Example, that there ſhall be a day of Judgment, is the revealed will of God, but when that day ſhall be, is ſecret to us, though determined and known to God: theſe be two Objects, that *a day ſhall be*, and *when that day ſhall be*.

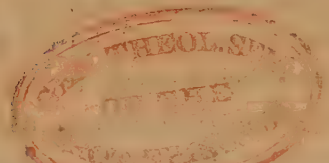
Again, the Goſpel of our Salvation, before the World was, was a ſecret counſel and Will of God; but ſince the World was, it hath been revealed and opened to the Prophets and Apoſtles, and is no more hidden, but manifeſted; the

the ſame thing in both, but in two times, in the one hidden, in the other revealed: being well-pleaſing unto God while it was ſecret; and not ceaſed to be ſo, being ſignified and declared to the Sons of Men.

To conclude; This expreſſed Will of God, whereby he commands all Men, that *hear the Goſpel, to believe it,* (John vi. 29. 1 John iii. 23.) and whereby *the diſobedience of them that believe not is aggravated,* (John iii. 19.) ſtrongly perſuadeth me, that the way to Life is yet open, and that Salvation is to be had, until that commandment come, nay, until it be contemned and deſpiſed:

And that the God of Truth who uſeth ſimplicity and ſincerity in all his ſayings, and who will overcome when he is judged, hath not made ſo much as any ſecret Decree, not to give a Man Faith, nor Salvation, whom he commandeth to believe the Goſpel, before the conſideration of this commandment given, and the diſobedience thereto obſerved in his all-knowing mind: And therefore all opinions and imaginations of Predeſtination, determined before the conſideration of obedience or diſobedience to the Goſpel, in the Church where the Goſpel

is preached, are utterly to be excluded: which if I obtain in this discourse, I have what I designed; and for this I APPEAL TO THE GOSPEL, AND TO THIS ARTICLE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.



THE END.

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